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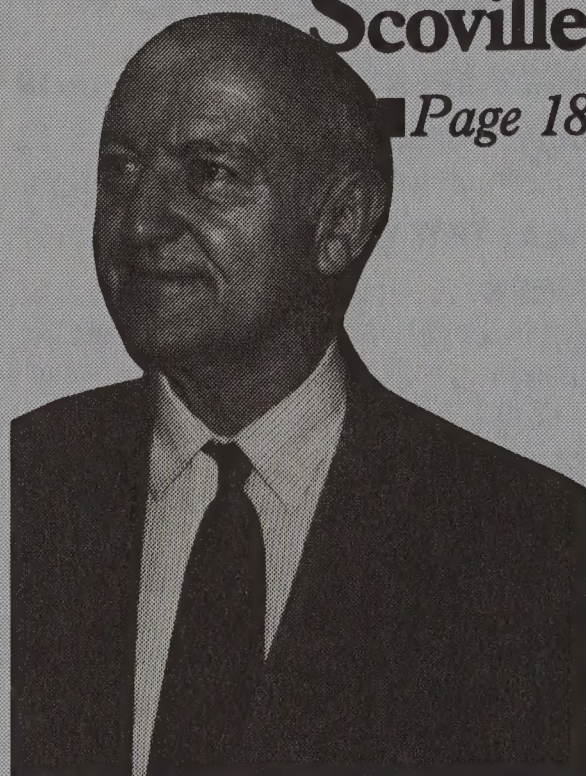
★ *Top issues: What polls show*

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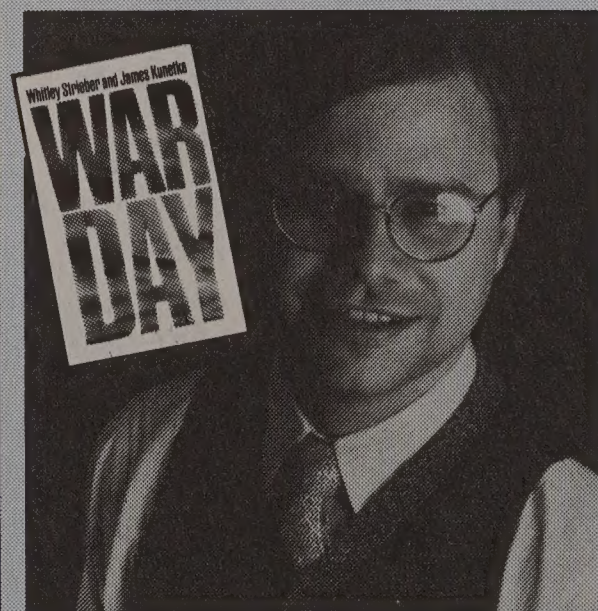
An Interview
With Herbert
Scoville

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An Antinuclear Bestseller?

■ Page 3



NUCLEAR TIMES

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Letters

Technology Appropriate

Your cover story, "What's in Store For '84" (Jan '84) included a curiously revealing cartoon. What struck me (aside from the lack of people of color) was the absence of any modern media—computers, video equipment, etc.

Not that it should be otherwise. After all, the nature of grass-root politics is very different from high-cost, high-tech campaigns. But there are appropriate technologies that could be effectively used at the grass-root level. The National Federation of Community Broadcasters, for example, is made up of community-based radio stations that have a mandate to serve their local listeners. Cable access, too, offers a place where local groups can appear, taking along tape material to assist their case. Computer networks, often relying on home microcomputers, can help monitor the course of a campaign. In theory, for example, several computer freaks in a local community could process data from an opinion survey carried out by grass-root workers. This in turn might enable a better use of local media, including cable and community radio, in addressing the very specific questions that might swing the electorate of that unique community.

But of course, thus far the cartoon was accurate: The peace movement, like environmentalists and others, have yet to find appropriate applications of the technology. There are alternatives. They can be cost effective. And they can be adapted to serve community organizers,

and need not overwhelm them.

—Patrick Esmonde-White
 Public Interest Video Network
 Washington, D.C.

Readers Into Plowshares

The actions of the AVCO Plowshares 7 ("Taking Nuclear Weapons to Court," Feb '84) reflect the desperation and moral outrage many of us feel concerning the obstinate behavior of the government in keeping us tied to an endless nuclear arms race, which 80 percent of the public has denounced in polls and referenda. If the peace movement, like the War Department, bestowed titles upon its leaders, [the Plowshares 7] would have to be appointed, not only five-star generals, but ambassadors (for peace). I wish these valiant people to know that I thank them for their profound efforts to raise consciousness to save the planet.

I vow to continue to do anything I can to oppose the nuclear menace, including working to defeat the hawks who build it and promote it. I join the AVCO Plowshares 7 in saying a resounding NO to nuclear, chemical and biological weapons: No, not in *my* name either!

—Irene Brown
 Farmington, Mich.

The last paragraph of your Plowshares article about Holladay and Pendleton being arrested in the AVCO parking lot—just what kind of a country do we have, to get arrested for praying? Is it a country gone haywire? What you have said has caused me to lose all confidence in my country.

No such events are ever reported in regular daily newspapers. It seems like the public is blindfolded.

—Paul Tribble
 Miller Place, N.Y.

Editor's Note

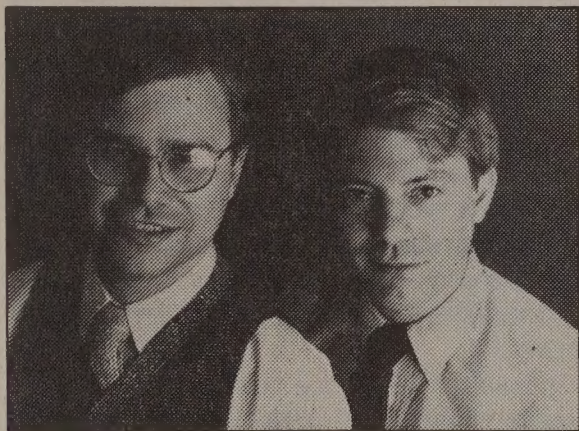
If you think this issue of NUCLEAR TIMES looks a little different—you're not imagining it. We've redesigned our cover to highlight more stories, and we've instituted a new column ("Blueprints," page 6). But most significantly, we have added an important, regular feature: a special section called "Campaign Report '84."

The first edition appears in this issue starting on page 11. Every month "Campaign Report '84" will cover, in an objective, nonpartisan way, the campaign-related efforts of hundreds of national and local arms control groups. Reporters will clog the campaign trail from now until November, but only "Campaign Report '84" will cover the campaign in-depth from an antinuclear/arms control perspective. We think it will become vital to activists at both the national and local level to keep abreast of what others are doing, planning and thinking in the months ahead. In fact, we believe it will become so vital that we will not skip an issue, as planned, this summer (NUCLEAR TIMES is published 10 times a year).

Because of our increased campaign coverage, and budget restraints, we have had to make some sacrifices—most importantly, regular columns by Fred Kaplan and Robert Friedman. We thank Fred and Robert for their excellent contributions and we have invited them to continue to write for NUCLEAR TIMES. We would also, at this time, like to thank you, our readers, for renewing your subscriptions at such an extraordinary rate. Your renewals, and contributions, are essential—please don't stop now. You help make "Campaign Report '84" possible.

Early Warnings

POSTWAR FICTION: "It takes you into a world you couldn't imagine . . . and gives you a chance to change the future"—that's the claim on the back cover of 1400 advance copies of the novel *Warday*, which are being distributed weeks before the April 16 publication date to anti-nuclear activists across the country. *Warday*, a Book-of-the-Month Club main selection, is a gripping, post-nuclear travelogue in which authors Whitley Strieber (*The Wolfen*, *The Hunger*) and James Kunetka (*Oppenheimer: The Years of Risk*) offer a personal account of the effects of a limited nuclear war that strikes in 1988. They use interviews and official documents to show how, five years later, shattered families and decimated societies try to pull themselves back together. The novel is an attempt "to create a post-war consciousness," according to Strieber.



Strieber & Kunetka hope "Warday" helps

er, who believes that in the Nuclear Age this is a crucial awareness that only fiction can provide.

Strieber would like to see the anti-nuclear movement use the book as an organizing tool. David Fenton of Fenton Communications in New York, the public relations firm hired by Holt, Rinehart and Winston to publicize the novel, offers to send groups 25 free copies, but ac-

knowledges that some in the movement will criticize the book because it portrays a limited nuclear war. But Strieber points out that in *Warday* the war is only limited because electromagnetic pulses destroy the superpowers' communication systems. Washington, D.C., and San Antonio disappear; New York City is inhabited by salvage teams and dogs; California becomes a semi-independent, fascistic state. Millions are killed by sickness and hunger. The U.S. government is nonexistent, and the country is slowly being carved into colonies dominated by Japan and Britain. "Anyone who views *Warday* as a survivable scenario," Strieber bluntly states, "is sick."

THE POPE SPEAKS: The radio spot opens with birdsong, and a little girl's tentative counting. When she reaches 10, two stern voices begin a countdown, simultaneously in English and Russian, that ends with the roar of a nuclear detonation. Lyndon Johnson used the same approach in his 1964 campaign against Barry Goldwater, and objections drove the advertisement from television. Now Tony Schwartz, author of the 1964 commercial, has produced another. In the new radio spot, what follows the nuclear thunder is not an exhortation to Vote Johnson, but the heavily-accented voice of Pope John Paul II, saying: "The life of humanity today is seriously endangered by the arms race. It must be our solemn wish for the children of all the nations on earth to make such catastrophes impossible."

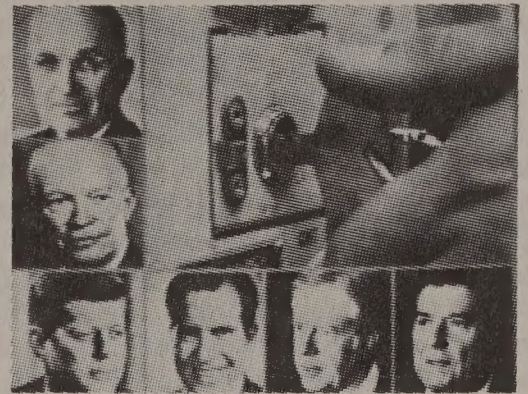
The 60-second radio spot, with its excerpt from the pope's 1979 address at the United Nations, is sponsored and distributed by a U.S. Catholic Conference clearinghouse in Washington, D.C. Political consultant Schwartz was so impressed with the bishops' pastoral letter

Blips

A new book by **Helen Caldicott**, *Missile Envy*, will be published this June Referenda or town meetings on **nuclear freeze zone** proposals will be held this spring in Ann Arbor, Michigan, half-a-dozen cities and towns in California (including Santa Barbara) and several communities on Cape Cod Activists with the **Silence One Silo** campaign, and other groups in Montana, are hoping to place an initiative on the state ballot this November calling on the United States to dismantle one nuclear missile (challenging the Soviets to do the same), "thereby beginning a process of disarmament" Instead of holding their own week this year, **Jobs with Peace** is helping coordinate Peace with Justice Week (May 4-13) and Peace Sabbath (May 4-6) activities. A resource packet is available from Fellowship of Reconciliation Groups from 11 cities in Oklahoma and Texas are planning a pilgrimage to the **Pantex** nuclear weapons plant in Amarillo this July and August, coordinated by the Austin Pantex Task Force. The trip will be by bicycle, with educational forums along the way "War tax protests" will be held outside IRS offices and other sites on **Tax Day**, April 16.

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IN OUR DEFENSE

An examination by leading experts in many fields of how America's quest for security through military strength has made us less secure as a nation economically and individually.

26 minutes/Color, 1983

PROPHECY

An important account of the effects of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, utilizing long-suppressed U.S. footage and interviews with victims of the bombings.

41 minutes/Color, 1982



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The classic controversial film depicting the grim effects of a nuclear attack on Britain based on information, supplied by experts in nuclear defense, economics and medicine.

49 minutes/Black and White, 1966

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on war and peace, says clearinghouse director Father Brian McCullough, that he offered his services to promote its message. McCullough says he expects no objections to the approach this time because it is used in "a totally different context"—to stress an issue rather than advance a candidate.

Some 200 cassettes of the radio spot were sent to bishops nationwide, and within two weeks, 26 dioceses had written back ordering 355 tapes. It is each diocese's responsibility to place the spots in public service time or pay for their commercial broadcast, says McCullough. (Production work was paid in part with money from the Einstein Peace Award, which Chicago Cardinal Joseph Bernardin received for his work on the war and peace pastoral.) Any antinuclear group or individual can order a copy of the tape and attempt to place it on the air in their area.

THEATER NUCLEAR WEAPON: Commissioned by philanthropist Leonard Davis to write a play on nuclear war, Arthur Kopit, author of *Indians*, *Wings*, and the book to the hit musical *Nine*, has come up with *End of the World with Symposium to Follow*. The play, directed by Hal Prince, will open at Washington's Kennedy Center on March 28 and on Broadway May 6. It's an autobiographical mystery with a surprise ending.

In Kopit's play, a dramatist named Michael Trent, played by John Shea (of *Missing* fame) receives a lot of money to write a play about nuclear Armageddon. The funder in *End of the World*, Philip Stone, played by Barnard Hughes, is convinced that "earth is doomed." Stone tells the playwright to learn about nuclear strategy himself to find out why. At first Trent and his funny and pragmatic agent, Audrey Wood (Linda Hunt of *The Year of Living Dangerously*), are leery of Stone and his project, but eventually Trent makes the same odyssey made by Kopit: He plunges into books and nuclear resource material and ultimately goes to Washington, D.C., to try to understand the arguments for deterrence. *End of the World* does not ridicule deterrence, but presents it and Trent's attempts to understand it realistically. "I take the best of the hard-line position," Kopit explains, "and demolish it."

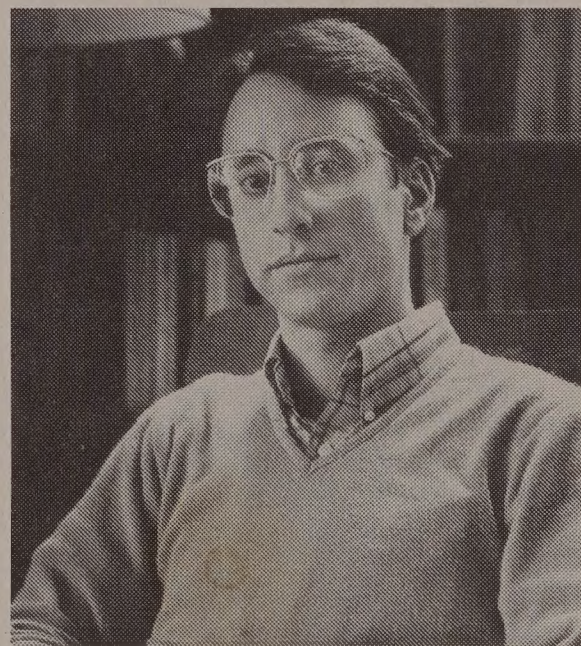
After *The Day After*, antinuclear activists may be skeptical about the long-term influence any dramatic work can have on the nuclear debate, but because of Kopit's largely successful efforts to present both sides fairly, *End of the World* will stir the audience. It makes its own argument in a very theatrical way. "The theater," in the words of the play's Philip Stone, "alone among the arts, engages, in equal measure, the emotion

and the intellect. And both must be touched here if we are to survive." Arthur Kopit's play touches both in its presentation of one idea: Deterrence will inevitably fail.

ENGINEER QUILTS WEAPONS WORK:

Mark Paquette, 26, ended his three-and-a-half years as a Honeywell engineer last August 24 when he could no longer reconcile his conscience with work on a guidance device for the Pershing 2 missile. Working at a \$30,000-a-year job, Paquette had been generally content, but a storm in the community was brewing over Honeywell's weapons work. By the end of the year Paquette had been arrested twice outside Honeywell's Minneapolis headquarters in civil disobedience actions.

With his colleagues Paquette never raised the issue of working on weapons of mass destruction until his resignation. "It's not something that's ordinarily talked about at Honeywell," Paquette says. The initial reaction among his engineer friends was "pretty good—they patted me on the back for it," Paquette reports. "I think the fact of quitting a job



Paquette: "Problem" solver

for a moral reason was kind of new to them. My action spurred them to think about it some more." Paquette says viewing a documentary on the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki led him to work with People for Survival, a group which became the Minnesota Nuclear Freeze Campaign. "But it took quite a bit longer to come to the realization that I was part of the problem," he recalls.

Awaiting trial for his civil disobedience action last October, Paquette studies computer science at the University of Minnesota. He tried to find work through corporate headhunters, but he was "typecast" by his training and experience; despite notice on his resume that he would not work on weapons, Paquette was offered only jobs related to arms

projects. Paquette's current project is the development of inexpensive computer software for a local Ground Zero chapter, an attempt to educate school children about nuclear weapons issues.

PSR, AFTER CALDICOTT: "Helen said she wanted a party, not a lot of speeches," says Mary Lord, deputy director of Physicians for Social Responsibility, "so we had Lily Tomlin and dancing." A testimonial dinner for Dr. Helen Caldicott, president emeritus of PSR, was the entertainment highlight of the group's recent annual conference in Washington, D.C., but three significant new directions for the organization were made public as well.

PSR will launch a major educational campaign on "nuclear winter," which it hopes will be comparable in size and impact to the group's work on the medical effects of nuclear war. The group took an official position against space weaponry as an extension of the group's opposition to civil defense, since a space race would "spring from the same illusion of survivability," Lord explains. Finally, PSR announced the formation of Professionals Coalition for Nuclear Arms Control—a joint venture with the Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control and Union of Concerned Scientists. The new organization will lobby Congress on a number of arms control issues. "We weren't sure how ready our chapters were to get involved in the political process," says Lord. "We found they were very eager to start."

A surprise of the conference was the appearance of Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, who was sent by the Republican National Committee to represent the administration in a debate with Ann Lewis of the Democratic National Committee. Perle argued that making arms control a partisan issue would imply that the United States was at fault in the breakdown of the arms talks. His reception, as Lord reports, was "hostile."

MAKING "HISTORY": "This is a film for everyone who knows that something is wrong, but who hasn't gotten political yet," says Haney Armstrong, coproducer of *Stopping History*, a documentary scheduled for national broadcast over PBS stations on May 18. In a kind of point/counterpoint framework, the formation and civil disobedience activity of a Livermore Action affinity group is juxtaposed with interviews of people who are concerned about the arms race, but are not yet actively protesting its escalation.

Stopping History's creators at Adair Films in San Francisco believe that the film can pick up where *The Day After* left off, and are encouraging groups to plan



A "History" lesson

outreach, recruitment and fund-raising around the national showing. "*Stopping History* raises a lot of tough ethical and moral questions in ways that involve the audience," says Thomas Ambrogini, executive director of the Commission on Social Justice for San Francisco's Catholic Archdiocese. "The film works as a dialogue—as the people being interviewed grapple with some hard issues, the audience grapples along with them. It all happens in the form of questions—no one's laying a rap on anyone's head." Ambrogini plans to use the film as an organizing tool in the parishes of San Francisco. *Stopping History* has already been shown by a number of other groups; Physicians for Social Responsibility used it at its national convention. And while the film concentrates on civil disobedience as one form of action that can be taken, the filmmakers say that its primary purpose is to jog the conscience of viewers and move them to act in whatever way they choose.

VETS JOIN TEST BAN FIGHT: According to proponents, a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) would limit weapons development and nuclear proliferation. In recent months, resolutions calling for test ban negotiations have emerged in both houses of Congress. But until lately, the individuals who suffered most due to above-ground nuclear testing in the 1950s—the so-called "atomic veterans"—were not directly involved in efforts to produce a new test ban treaty that would end all testing.

A newcomer to the CTBT fight is the International Alliance of Atomic Veterans (IAAV), a project of the National Committee for Radiation Victims. Its director, Anthony Guarisco, is an atomic vet and former research director of the National Association of Atomic Veterans, which will decide this month whether to support IAAV. Guarisco envisions a network of atomic veterans from the United States, Canada, Great Britain, Australia, France, and New Zealand who will put pressure on governments worldwide. Guarisco is working with Greenpeace, a longtime leader in the CTBT movement. Although peace

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Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, Inc. —Helen Caldicott

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groups had not reached out to the vets previously, says Greenpeace disarmament director Eric Fersht, "In the political aspect of CTBT, it is important to mobilize veterans." Guarisco explains, "Atomic veterans are predominantly conservative. All are patriotic. Governments cannot ignore them."

The formation of the IAAV will be announced in early May in New York, followed by a whistle-stop tour of states holding primary elections, and a Memorial Day disarmament plea at the Nevada test site.

ALARMING INCIDENT: It was 11:14 a.m. when Thomas Nervine, a civil defense official in Lehigh County, Pennsylvania, took a chilling message off the teletype: "Urgent, all stations. This is an attack warning. Repeat. This is an attack warning . . . Take appropriate action." Nervine called the Eastern Pennsylvania area office in Hamburg asking if they had received the same message. They had.

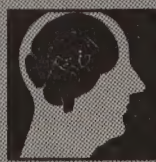
At 11:15 Nervine gave the order for all 40 sirens throughout the city of Allentown (population 104,000) and the rest of the county to sound. He was about to order the Emergency Broadcasting System in place when, at 11:18, another message flashed on the teletype, telling him to disregard the first. Apparently, AT&T had accidentally transmitted the message to 40 out of the state's 67 counties. Many of the counties called state headquarters in Harrisburg to verify. But 20 counties didn't verify or sound the alarm. And the results in Allentown, where the alarm *was* sounded, caused local officials some concern.

According to Allentown Mayor Joseph Daddona, tests following the incident revealed only three of the seven sirens in the city were in operation, and he estimates a similar percentage for the rest of the county. "And we're in better shape than most," he says. According to Jeff Fleishman, a reporter for the Allentown *Morning Call*, who conducted 25 interviews after the mishap, few residents actually heard the sirens, and those who did dismissed it, confusing the nuclear alert for a fire alarm. In fact, most people only learned of the incident the next day from the newspaper. Fleishman says that almost none of the people he interviewed knew what the various siren signals meant and no one had any idea of what to do or where to find local bomb shelters. "No one did anything," says Mayor Daddona, "but there was very little evidence of panic." □

Items for this section were written by Patty Edmonds, Cathy Cevoli, Douglas Lavin, Alex Miller, Mordecai Spektor, Bob Sanders.

Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms



By some definitions, the 1970s was a time of political lassitude. But for pro-nuclear avatars it was a time of planning and preparation, a time when, according to Jerry Sanders, the policies of the current administration were galvanized in independent research centers.

Sanders, who wrote a book recently on one of the most powerful conservative institutions, the Committee on the Present Danger (*Peddlers of Crisis*), says that the tide has turned. The rush is now on for the best arguments and policies for reversing the nuclear buildup.

Sanders is himself taking part in this new striving for influence. He is director of the World Policy Institute's National Security Project, a three-year program of research and public education about new directions in military, economic and foreign policies. Its first report, due out in June, Sanders reveals, will outline goals as well as make some specific policy suggestions for the United States: an independent (unilateral) six-month freeze as an interim step towards disarmament, followed by a move to stable, minimal deterrence (no counterforce nuclear weapons—those designed to attack Soviet weapons); scaling back conventional forces to a non-interventionist posture; the immediate pullout of nuclear weapons from NATO and the gradual withdrawal of the United States from the alliance as the European forces are restructured; and the establishment of new regional and international institutions for the mediation of disputes.

The report, which will be publicized in seminars during May, will emphasize that with military cutbacks saving several hundred billion dollars over a five-year period, the United States could undertake a domestic and international program of economic expansion and re-industrialization.

Minimal deterrence seems to be a hot topic in think tanks. A study on how to achieve a minimal arsenal, one whose only purpose is to discourage a nuclear attack, has just been launched at Princeton, conducted at the university's Program on Nuclear Policy Alternatives. The study will analyze "feasible ways of reducing our current arsenal to a few percent of its current size," according to Frank von Hippel, chairman of the Federation of American Scientists and one of the three chief investigators on the

study. Another investigator, Hal Feiveson, says reductions will be set by considering minimal deterrence "in as much technical detail as possible; for instance, how would a cutoff in fissile material production be arranged and verified?"

In another major study relating to deterrence, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Washington School of Psychiatry will bring behavioral scientists and national security specialists together at a conference next October in Washington, D.C. As researchers prepare for the meeting, they are turning attention to the thinking of the past. According to conference planner Paul Ferrari, deterrence was originally conceived as a strategy with a significant psychological dimension, involving a range of behavioral theories. But focus on the psychological aspect blurred, Ferrari says, as strategists became increasingly absorbed in technical considerations. Over time the definition of deterrence became distorted as the military pursued war-fighting strategies and developed first-strike weapons, under the catchall of deterrence. Attendees at the October conference will re-examine the psychological underpinnings of deterrence in search of new guidelines for nuclear policy.

Also taking a crack at deterrence and the nuclear status quo is the Boston Nuclear Study Group—social and political scientists from Boston College and Brandeis University. Last year the Harvard Nuclear Study Group released its *Living With Nuclear Weapons*. Charles Derber, a member of the Boston Study Group, calls the book "highly intelligent and elegant in style, but insidious in substance" and says it "legitimizes American nuclear policy." Because the book received wide public attention and will be used in college courses, Derber and his colleagues felt it was important to lift up their pens and parry. In *Living Without Nuclear Weapons*, they will compose a retort—a systematic analysis, according to Derber, of why "we can't live with nuclear weapons, why it's critical to get rid of them." *Living Without* will raise questions about the sociological costs of the arms race, accidental nuclear war, and the underlying illogic of deterrence—areas the Boston group feels were inadequately addressed by the Harvard study. They will advance their own agenda for disarmament that includes some familiar ingredients—an immediate bilateral freeze and gradual reductions to a minimal deterrent.

But technical analysis is secondary to their main purpose of developing "fundamental principles for guiding nuclear decisionmaking"—a manifesto of what they call "survival politics."

—Corinna Gardner

THE CONTINUING SAGA

MX Fight Resumes On Hill

How many lives does the MX missile have? So far it has only lost one, when the House voted against MX funds in December 1982. But since then, aided by the Scowcroft Commission report and a compromise fashioned by some House liberals led by Representative Les Aspin, the MX has been on a winning streak, albeit by decreasing margins. And once again, Congress is preparing to debate the MX, as funds for the production of 37 missiles come up for a vote this spring.

Money for the first 21 missiles was approved last year. But new anti-MX activity is building in Washington, D.C., and at the missiles' would-be home on the range.

Lobbyists on Capitol Hill are considering a dual effort aimed at rescinding the production funds approved last year (by a nine-vote margin) and blocking the administration's current request of \$4 billion for the next batch of missiles. The budget authority for the new missiles could come to a vote as early as May, when a rescinding amendment might also be proposed.

"There has never been a major weapon system under production that has been stopped," says April Moore of the National Campaign To Stop the MX, "but with the federal deficit over \$200 billion, there's talk on the Hill about the need to cut a major weapon system. And some moderate Republicans facing strong Democratic challenges in November really need an arms control vote."

Arms control lobbyists have drawn up a target list of about 30 swing districts, according to Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause. These high-priority congressional districts are divided almost equally between Democratic and Republican House members who have voted for some arms control measures in the past, but went astray on the MX. Lobbyists will also keep the pressure on about 10 members who voted against the MX last time out, but who might switch back.

A key element of their strategy is to create a highly visible debate around the upcoming vote. "Last time the target list got to be too narrow," says Hedlund. "There was not enough attention paid to the whole institution. Members came off the floor saying they had no idea the vote would be so close. If they knew, they would have been more actively involved



in the fight."

This time, MX opponents want to make certain that all members realize it will be a crucial vote. To do so, notes Hedlund, they cannot rely on the measures used last year. "Another round of letters from the same people won't do it," he says. Instead, the opposition is planning a three-and-a-half month political campaign in each "swing" district that will try to assert new types of pressure. The foundation of this strategy is to bring new constituencies—for example, more churches and professionals—into local anti-MX coalitions.

The Freeze Campaign recently advised its activists in swing districts to make the MX a chief organizing priority until the House vote. "This is the first time the campaign has made such a commitment," notes one arms control lobbyist. "It could make a difference."

Nevertheless, it won't be easy. One House staffer opposing the missile notes that a move to rescind 1984 funds—a more extreme step than just blocking fiscal year 1985 authorization funds—will probably stall. And to stop 1985 production funds, he explains, will require two victories—one on an amendment deleting the monies, and another on a measure instructing House conferees not to compromise and accept the MX when they meet with Senate conferees. (Though a lobbying effort will also be aimed at the Senate, the MX maintains greater support there.)

Another strategy being discussed on Capitol Hill is to get the House to back a "fencing" arrangement, where funds

would be withheld until some time after January 20, 1985. This would allow a new administration to stop the missile before 1985 funds were spent—a tactic which led to the temporary demise of the B-1 bomber in 1977.

But if the MX missile cannot be halted outright, one congressional strategy calls for an "add-back." Under this agreement, the MX missile would be deleted from the military budget, but conventional readiness weapons—at a cost less than the MX—would be added to the budget. This would protect centrist representatives from charges that they are "soft" on defense and give them an arms control vote. "To be cynical," comments one congressional aide, "we can locate these [new conventional] weapons in the districts of the swing votes."

While the MX debate in Congress gears up again, activists in Wyoming and Nebraska, where the 100 MX missiles are to be deployed, are continuing grassroots organizing. Nebraskan organizers have initiated a petition drive to place on the state ballot a measure expressing support for the freeze and opposition to the MX missile. They are also lobbying Governor Bob Kerry, who opposes the MX, to be more outspoken. Western Solidarity has planned a road show of military experts, who will speak out against the MX in 12 cities located near the deployment site.

When the Air Force published a draft environmental impact statement (EIS) last year, local organizers protested that it did not consider whether MX deployment increased the likelihood of nuclear war, nor did it conduct a "worse-case" analysis. In its final EIS, recently released, the Air Force dismissed these complaints. "The Air Force considers the possibility of nuclear war to be remote and speculative," the EIS notes. "Because the purpose of this project is to deter war, nuclear war was not analyzed."

—David Corn

CAMPAIGN PLANS

Blue Fridays And A "Quick Freeze"

If you happened to be wearing your blue suede shoes on March 2 you were right in step with the National Freeze Campaign's new monthly event, Freeze Fridays. Instead of choosing a specific symbol for the project, the Campaign has decided to use the color on freeze buttons (royal, or "freeze" blue, as organizers like to call it). "People can

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wear blue T-shirts, or freeze buttons, or hang blue banners," says Barbara Roche, the group's deputy national coordinator.

While the nature of the Freeze Friday campaign (taking place on the first Friday of every month) will be determined locally, organizers would like to see outreach emphasized. Roche suggests announcing the names of local individuals and groups that have come out for the freeze to show its breadth of support, or approaching community organizations for an endorsement of the freeze's new legislative strategy.

In another strategy decision, the National Day of Concern, originally slated for October 5, was found to conflict with Yom Kippur; the event has been expanded to Freeze Weekend '84, to be held on October 12-14.

For the next few months, most of the Freeze Campaign's energy will be focused on the "quick freeze" strategy adopted at the group's national convention in December. One leg of that strategy involves exacting promises from presidential candidates to initiate a moratorium on the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons upon taking office—at the beginning of the negotiating process. The other leg of the new strategy is legislative, calling on Congress to immediately suspend funding for the testing of nuclear warheads and the testing and deployment of ballistic missiles (contingent on Soviet adherence to the same program) until a comprehensive freeze can be negotiated.

According to Randall Forsberg, author of the freeze, assistants to Representative Edward Markey and Senators Edward Kennedy and Mark Hatfield have painstakingly prepared "precise and solid" legislation that will stand up to technical scrutiny. Aides have compiled position papers on various technical issues, and cited precedents. (The most prominent example: President Kennedy's moratorium on nuclear testing that led to the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1963.)

"This new legislative strategy gets around the technical hang-ups that have been used in the past as excuses for not stopping the arms race," says Forsberg. "It also gets around the negotiations that can drag on for years. And it bypasses arms control agreements that allow new generations of weapons to be developed." Forsberg predicts that when the legislation is introduced in the House—probably some time this month—"we can expect a good fight. After all, you can't get people to do something right away before they say they'll do it at all."

— Renata Rizzo

THE WASTE BAND

Reagan's Military Budget Attracts Bipartisan Foes

Until now, the peace movement, despite its success in raising public concern about the dangers of the administration's nuclear policy, has helplessly observed gargantuan growth in the defense budget. "The first couple of years of the Reagan administration were really frustrating," says Stephen Daggett of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy. "We were out of the game."

Since 1980, the defense budget has grown about 80 percent. Although Congress limited the Pentagon's 1984 after-inflation increase to 3.7 percent over 1983, that was mainly the result of Republicans who broke with the administration out of concern over rising deficits.

But the Defense Department apparently didn't get the message. The Pentagon's \$305 billion request for fiscal year 1985—a 13 percent real increase over this year—was greeted with cold stares on Capitol Hill. Even the military's closest congressional allies have warned that the proposed defense budget must be reduced sharply in the face of mounting deficits.

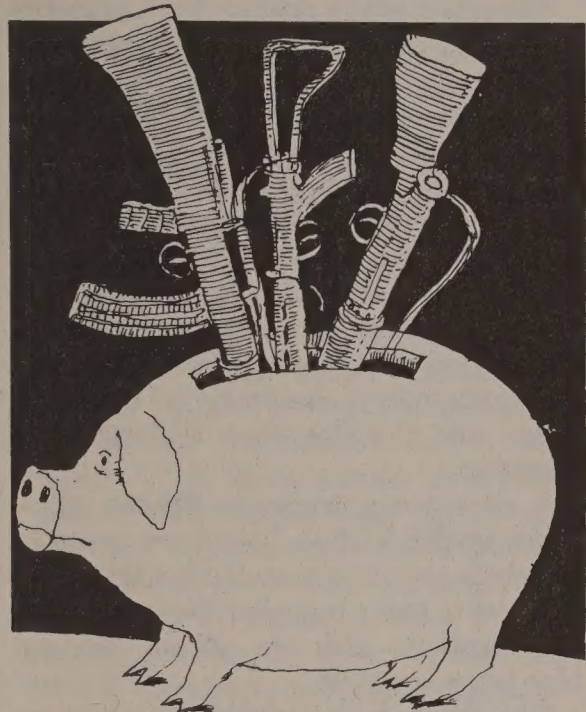
Peace and antinuclear lobbyists hope the upcoming battle will provide them with some opportunity to influence the 1985 defense budget. "It's very, very fluid [on Capitol Hill]—I have never lobbied on a budget resolution where it has been this fluid," SANE's Laurie Duker says. The congressional schedule calls for a vote on the military authorization bill in May and a vote on a defense appropriations measure in September.

Groups like SANE and the Coalition have argued for major reductions in military spending for years. This year, Daggett says, they will try to work more closely with new allies—Senate Republicans who have criticized wasteful Pentagon spending and a military procurement process that invites abuse. These conservatives have joined with House Democrats to sponsor a variety of reform measures.

The military reformers have scored some impressive victories. Last year Congress overwhelmingly approved legislation cosponsored by Senator William Roth to establish an independent office in

the Pentagon to ensure fair testing of new weapons systems under realistic conditions. Senator Mark Andrews sponsored and got passed a measure to require warranties on new weapons systems.

Military reforms on this year's legislative agenda include Senator Charles Grassley's "creeping capitalism" bill, designed to increase public advertising and competitive bidding on defense contracts, and a measure (cosponsored by Roth) to require better review of spare parts purchases.



The Republican defense reformers have been successful, says an aide to Grassley, because defense is "their domain." Another reason is that Congress has been shocked by recent revelations of outrageous prices the Pentagon has paid for spare parts (*see p. 17*).

But are the Republican reformers really allies of arms control lobbyists? "What they [the defense reformers] are asking for—independent testing, warranties—may seem peripheral, but it's not," the Coalition's Daggett contends. "It raises fundamental issues about how

the Pentagon does business." The Pentagon is indeed taking these measures seriously. It is trying to repeal the warranties requirement and to limit severely the power of the independent testing office.

The Coalition's focus on how Congress can cut programs and force choices in weapons systems is "compatible" with the military reformers' goals, Daggett argues. But it is not clear how much influence organizations such as the Coalition will have on the Military Reform Caucus, as the loose-knit group calls itself. "It [the Caucus] has its own agenda," an aide to Senator Andrews says.

SANE's Duker admits that, at best, the defense budget might be held to a 3 percent increase. But, she adds, focusing on military waste is "a way of breaking out of our traditional constituency." The antinuclear movement clearly has different long-term goals from "people like Senator Grassley," Duker points out, "but politics is coalition-building. It's the art of stretching what's possible."

Gordon Adams of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, whose analyses have been used widely in the arms control community, agrees that attacking Pentagon waste and abuse is a good way to open up discussion of defense spending, but notes, "SANE and the Coalition did not invent the wheel on the waste issue, and I'm not sure how far they can or should ride that wheel."

Reforms of Pentagon waste, fraud and abuse ultimately "beg the problem of security," Adams contends. "One of the big weaknesses of the peace movement has been an unwillingness to take national security seriously. It is going to have to develop a reasonable, responsible national security policy." —Jonathan King

Jonathan King is a Washington, D.C., correspondent for the Center for Investigative Reporting.

Wrap-Up

Plowshares 8 (King of Prussia) defendants won their appeal on February 17 when Pennsylvania Superior Court ruled 6-1 that the judge at their 1981 trial had erred in preventing the defendants from arguing that their act was justified *In the Nuclear Shadow*, a film based on interviews with 27 children, has been nominated for an **Academy Award** in the best short documentary category Viewers who called the **800-NUCLEAR** number following *The Day After* have been informed by American Express that donations charged to their AMEX cards will not be honored because of the political nature of the project. VISA and MasterCard are honoring donations Millions of viewers recently watched **The Day After** on Polish television and it opened to huge crowds in theaters in many cities in Japan, including Hiroshima and Nagasaki **Stop Project ELF** activists in Wisconsin and Michigan won a major victory last month when a federal judge halted construction of the communications system pending an adequate assessment of possible health effects According to the new guide **The FY 1985 Defense Budget**, put out by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, D.C., the proposed budget, when adjusted for inflation, would "surpass spending for any other year since the end of World War II, including the peak spending years for the Korean and Vietnam wars" 12 Catholic bishops have urged parishioners to join the "nuclear train" protests.

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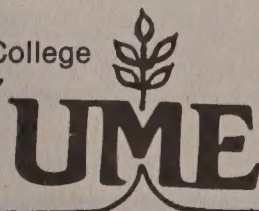
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Notes From Abroad



• The **Dutch parliament** is due to vote in June on whether to deploy cruise missiles in The Netherlands. With the governing party split on the issue, the outcome is genuinely uncertain. Peace groups hope to collect 4 million signatures—half the voting population—on antimissile petitions before the vote. This is not as unlikely as it seems. The Dutch demonstration against the Euromissiles in October, with a 550,000 turnout, was the largest in Europe and 200 Dutch townships have declared themselves nuclear free zones. Woensdrecht, the proposed deployment site for the cruise, is among them.

• West Germany's **Green Party** is finding parliamentary politics more difficult. Tensions between the party's "realist," "fundamentalist" and Marxist wings came to a head in late January when the "realist" party representatives in Hesse decided to make a compromise and work with the Social Democratic party. Soon afterwards, former General Gert Bastian, one of the Green's best-known Bundestag members, left the party, largely because of poor organization and what he sees as the growing influence of the anti-American, Marxist wing. Bastian's defection is a real loss for the Green Party, but it does not signal the demise of the peace movement, as pundits in the American press suggest. The movement's main spring project is a citizens' referendum (on cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, a nuclear weapons freeze, and steps toward a nuclear free Europe), designed to coincide with the European Parliament's elections in June.

• The authoritative trade magazine *Jane's Defense Weekly* reports that the peace campers at **Greenham Common** in Britain have succeeded in preventing the cruise missiles from being wheeled out of the base to their launching positions. According to official sources, military exercises involving the cruise have been postponed indefinitely for political reasons. One Pentagon source told *Jane's*: "It will be a less emotional spectacle in the future . . . when the British population gets used to [the missiles]."

• Canadian Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau** continues to promote his global peace initiative, calling on the five nuclear states to hold a summit conference on arms reductions. Lawrence Eagleburger, the U.S. undersecretary for political affairs, has called Trudeau's crusade the "pot-induced" ravings of an "er-

atic leftist," but according to one poll, nearly 80 percent of Canadians think he should continue with it. Some peace activists, though, see Trudeau's globetrotting as a shrewd and hypocritical publicity stunt to touch up his party's image in preparation for Canada's federal election this year. Trudeau's government, they point out, has raised defense spending and continues to allow the testing of American cruise missiles on Canadian soil. It also cast one of only 13 votes against a bilateral nuclear freeze at the United Nations in November.

Canada's peace groups have launched their own pre-election drive, the Peace Petition Caravan Campaign. The PPCC is a year-long program of canvassing, lobbying and educational activities that aims to strengthen and unify the Canadian movement, redirect arms spending to fund human needs, end cruise testing and have Canada officially declared a nuclear free zone. The campaign already has the support of major labor organizations, the native Assembly of First Nations, and the Canadian Federation of Students.

• A recent conference in **Athens**, organized by KEADEA, the peace group of Greece's governing socialist party, was the first to bring together Western peace organizations and the official Eastern bloc peace councils.

The Warsaw Pact representatives refused to criticize the new Soviet missile



deployments or discuss the persecution of independent peace activists in their countries. In spite of these basic disagreements most Western participants felt that the conference was a useful step towards

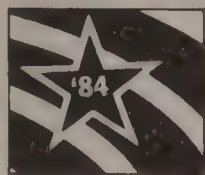
detente. Greece will follow this meeting by hosting a series of conferences towards establishing a Balkan Nuclear Free Zone, which would include both NATO and Warsaw Pact countries.

• In the **Soviet Union**, another member of the independent Group to Establish Trust Between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. is facing trial, this time charged with refusing to obey a police officer. Olga Medvedkova, a geographer, was arrested when she and three fellow group members tried to attend the trial of peace worker Oleg Radzinsky, who is serving a five-year term in Siberia. The police officer in question reportedly beat and severely bruised Medvedkova while trying to push her onto a bus to prevent her from attending the trial. Medvedkova, who is pregnant, could be sentenced to five years in jail.

—Maria Margaronis

Freeze and voting on the campaign trail

The New PAC On The Block



It started with town meetings and petition drives, and then moved on to statewide referenda campaigns and congressional lobbying. Now the freeze movement is, once again, trying to up the ante. Its electoral arm, Freeze Voter '84, based in Washington, D.C., will soon endorse as many as 40 candidates for national office (possibly including a presidential candidate). And when Freeze Voter '84 canvasses hit full stride—many only began last month—they will have the potential, says Bill Curry, executive director of the national Freeze Voter '84, of reaching over 1 million voters a month. To do so, Freeze Voter '84 will spend upwards of \$2 million.

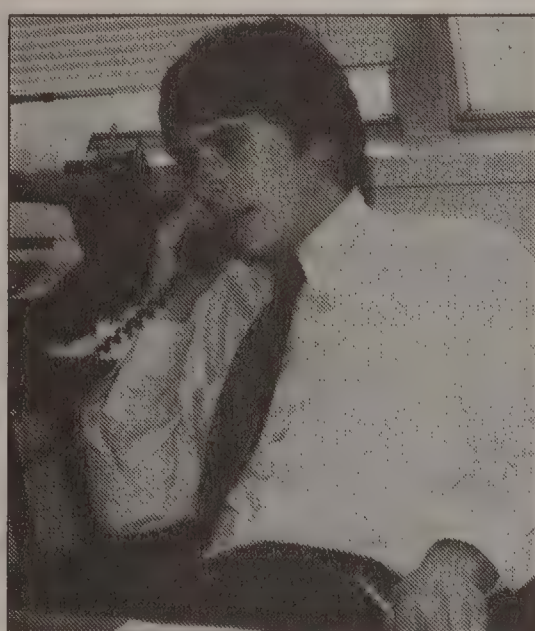
Curry, 31, a former state senator in Connecticut who narrowly lost a race for Congress in 1982, calls Freeze Voter '84 the largest volunteer political citizen action in U.S. history. And it has already mapped out and taken the first steps of its ambitious strategy, which aims to place the freeze center stage in the 1984 elections.

The idea behind Freeze Voter '84, which is set up as a political action committee, is to move the freeze movement directly into the fray of electoral politics, but to do so in a manner unlike traditional PACs. Rather than open an office in Washington, D.C., and simply dole out money to candidates, Freeze Voter '84 is working with state freeze PACs to build strong local organizations that can play a key role working for candidates who have been endorsed by both the local and national freeze PACs.

Only if fund-raising efforts are extremely successful, says Betsy Taylor, director of finance and development for Freeze Voter '84, will the group make direct contributions to candidates. "Our first priority," she notes, "is to put money into local organizations that can influence the campaigns."

The general strategy: Freeze Voter '84 PACs (now registered in over 30 states) canvass door-to-door in search of "freeze voters" (who pledge to make the freeze their top voting issue), additional volun-

teers and donations. All of the information and funds collected are sent to the national office. There the names are computerized by precinct and then returned, with half of the money raised, to the state PAC. The national office retains the names and polling data and follows up with a phonebank to solicit more contri-



**Freeze Voter's
Bill Curry:
Aiming for
"a decent shot"**

butions and ensure that voters flock to the polls. Money raised by the national office will be used to pay local and state field staff who will work full-time to plug local freeze groups into campaigns of strong freeze supporters. "We're trying to do with people," Curry explains, "what Richard Viguerie [direct-mail expert of the New Right] does with mailings and computers."

As November approaches the door-to-door campaigns and the phone calls will continue, aiming for a large pro-freeze turnout at the polls. Freeze Voter '84 anticipated having canvasses underway in 90 cities by the beginning of March.

About 80 canvassers contacted 2000 residents of Newton, Massachusetts, as part of a pilot canvass and found that over 50 percent agreed to make the freeze their primary voting consideration, and that 35 percent were willing to donate money. (The one-day canvass raised \$4000.) "We can go back to them," says Brooke Lipsitt, a Freeze Voter '84 organizer in Newton, "put them into campaigns via freeze work, and get them to the polls."

Which candidates will benefit from all this organizing? It might be a presidential candidate. Freeze Voter '84 sent out surveys to 1000 leading freeze activists in January, and the general response, reports Betsy Taylor, was that at some point an endorsement should be made, but not yet because the movement is too divided about whom to support.

But, according to Curry, Freeze Voter '84 is watching about 30 House races and 10 Senate races. As he puts it, there are four criteria for Freeze Voter '84 aid: The candidate must be "for the freeze; *really* be for the freeze; opposed to destabilizing weapons (like the MX and Pershing 2 missiles); and in a tough race." Freeze Voter '84, he says, will also examine a wider range of issues in selecting candidates, thus allowing for coalitions with other groups, such as environmental and women's rights organizations.

Not every congressional race has been picked yet, but Illinois Freeze Voter '84, which is trying to raise \$100,000 for its campaign and is organized in most of the state's 22 congressional districts, last month scheduled a forum for Senator Charles Percy's challengers (in anticipation of making an endorsement). All four contenders, who face off in the March 20 Democratic primary, "eagerly" accepted the invitation, according to Tom Stephenson, chairman of the Illinois state PAC. A campaign aide for Representative Paul Simon, running in the primary, says it is "important to get the endorsement of such a group. It provides a boost in morale and in the numbers of volunteers and voters." Described by the national office as one of the most highly developed state PACs, the Illinois group, says Stephenson, plans no direct

involvement in the presidential race. "We have enough to do with congressional races," he adds, "though people active in the state freeze campaign will be working with the presidential race."

But in areas where there are few, if any, targeted congressional contests, attention has been focused on the presidential campaign. For instance, Georgia Freeze Voter '84 does not expect to be very involved in any House or Senate race, but on January 28, when Georgia's Democrats met in caucuses to choose the delegate slates for the March 13 presidential primary, Georgia Freeze Voter '84 flooded the Mondale room at the fourth congressional district's caucus with freeze supporters. Out of the 145 voting Democrats at the meeting, 50 had been brought by the PAC. All five of the Mondale delegates picked to run in the primary were strong freeze backers. "The freeze movement was highly visible and had a strong presence at the meeting," notes one Mondale aide.

In Northern California, the local Freeze Voter '84 PAC, which has 21 chapters and 19 staff positions, is preparing for the possibility that California might be a swing state next November in the presidential election. Like other local freeze PACs, it plans to emphasize voter identification and registration so that in November it can work at the precinct level to get out the vote. But because there are no targeted congressional races in this area, one of its primary tasks, notes Ann Hancock of Northern California Freeze Voter '84, is to raise money for groups in *other* areas, where there are close and significant races.

Although elections are measured by who wins and who loses, Freeze Voter '84 is seeking more than wins. "We must maintain the organization beyond the election," explains Hancock, "to ensure that candidates remember we helped to elect them and that they keep their promises." Brooke Lipsitt adds, "All this activity will lead to stronger freeze organizations. Win, lose or draw in the elections, this will be a stronger movement."

It will be difficult to focus attention on a single issue in the elections. This is especially true when contests are dominated by economic concerns and politics of style and personality. And Freeze Voter '84 is just one of thousands of PACs. (In 1982, 3499 PACs poured more than \$83 million into congressional campaigns.) But Bill Curry is confident that Freeze Voter '84, if it meets its organizational goals, will have "a decent shot" at making a difference. "But we want to build an enduring, effective political vehicle," he adds. "That should be the legacy of 1984."

—David Corn

Opinion polls reveal contradictions

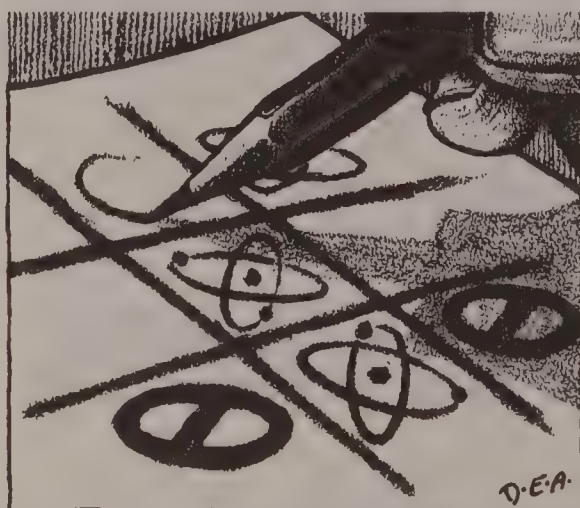
Will Arms Issues Matter?



With November eight months away, political strategists are asking this question: When voters step into the booths, draw the curtains and cast their votes, what particular issues and concerns will most influence them?

An analysis of a dozen recent national surveys reveals that, as always, economic considerations will hold their place high on the list. But according to the polls, concern over U.S. foreign policy, especially nuclear weapons issues, might play a significant—perhaps crucial—role in the elections.

In a Louis Harris survey taken last summer, 20 percent of the respondents noted that controlling the nuclear arms race and keeping the country out of war were the most important goals for the country, while 47 percent cited economic



recovery and unemployment. More recent polls, however, have shown that the issues of war and peace have gained importance. A *New York Times*/CBS News survey conducted in January found that the risk of war was picked by 20 percent as the top issue. Taken together, foreign policy concerns were the priority of 33 percent, and economic issues of 39 percent.

But what do these numbers mean? The possibility of nuclear war, of course is of great concern to both conservatives and liberals. If voters are going to pay more attention to war and peace issues, does that automatically translate into an advantage for one party or candidate over another?

Not necessarily. But what surveys do indicate is that there is a *potential* vulnerability on the part of presidential and congressional candidates who do not convincingly address the nuclear issue.

One mistake often made is equating

concern over the issue with support for (or opposition to) a certain policy. Arms control activists are fond of citing public opinion polls that place support for the freeze at 70 percent as proof this issue can turn elections. But several pollsters note that this is by no means a given. "That 70 percent represents a high level of anxiety, not support for a particular program," explains Lawrence Kaagan of Yankelovich, Skelly and White. "And Reagan's popularity has nothing to do with his stand on the freeze." In fact, one survey found that 69 percent either did not know the president's position on the freeze or wrongly believed he supports the freeze.

"Average voters do not tend to develop consistent attitudes on foreign policy questions," notes Mark Mellman of Information Associates. "So people can favor the freeze, oppose the MX, support a reduction in U.S.-Soviet tensions and *still* think Reagan has done a good job because he has stood up to the Soviets."

Harris polls have found that a clear majority opposes the MX missile (58 percent) and the B-1 bomber (69 percent) and supported a delay in Euromissile deployment (62 percent). But pollsters are quick to add that public opinion regarding specific weapons controversies is not often firm enough to provide a base for a campaign. If one tends to believe that Reagan has "made America strong again," Mellman says, "one votes for Reagan. Image plays an important role." In fact, in a Harris poll, 56 percent said that if Reagan were re-elected "the U.S. will be much more respected in the world."

Several polls note that there is apprehension about the stands of both President Reagan and the Republican Party on nuclear weapons. A Harris survey indicated that the majority believe a Reagan re-election would make war more likely and a U.S.-Soviet arms agreement less likely. Another Harris poll found that 47 percent believed a Democratic-controlled Congress was best able to control nuclear weapons, while 34 percent chose the Republicans. But there are countervailing, if not contradictory, trends in the polls. Perhaps foremost is Reagan's high approval rating. In a recent *Newsweek* poll 56 percent said they have "personal confidence in [Reagan] to do the right thing." Eighty percent noted they "like the way he stands up for America."



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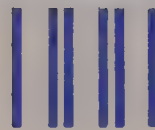


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As for the gender gap, polls indicate that it does not exist in specific areas such as support for the freeze or opposition to the military budget. "It doesn't make sense to go to women looking for freeze supporters," says Mellman. "But on the question of trusting Reagan to handle nuclear weapons and deal with international situations, there is a tremendous gap." And surveys note that women are more likely to rate the nuclear war issue as a prime factor in determining for whom to vote.

On the question of U.S.-Soviet relations, a *New York Times*/CBS poll conducted last month found that 55 percent want the United States to "try harder to reduce tensions with the Russians." (Since 1978, when this question first became part of *Times*/CBS polls, reducing tension has never before commanded a majority of support). So it would seem that voters might react negatively to a hard-line approach to the Soviet Union. But Harris polls show that an overwhelming 80 percent feel the Soviets "cheat" on arms control agreements. And Gallup polls reveal that a majority believes that it is not possible to verify whether the Soviets are adhering to a freeze agreement, and that falling behind the Soviet Union in nuclear weaponry increases the chances of nuclear war more so than a continuation of the arms buildup.

One pollster warns that anyone campaigning on an arms control platform must constantly connect any changes in U.S. policy to reciprocal Soviet action. "Mistrust for the Soviet Union, if left unattended to in political strategies," he says, "will completely gut whatever sympathy there is for the freeze and arms control."

But all in all, the polls do show a wide "swing vote" up for grabs. A Harris poll commissioned by *Business Week* discovered that some 35 percent of likely voters make up the pro-Reagan "hard core," and 38 percent can be counted as fierce anti-Reagan voters. That leaves 27 percent as swing voters. Almost all of the diehard opposition, Harris reports, is caused by Reagan's stands on nuclear weapons, the environment, women's issues and minority rights. These issues, Harris notes, will "probably influence the swing vote one way or another." The strong presence of these issues causes Harris to believe that the 1984 presidential election may be more issues-oriented than previous contests.

"The real question that faces the movement," says pollster Mellman, "is to figure out how to make the nuclear issue central to people's voting decision."

—David Corn

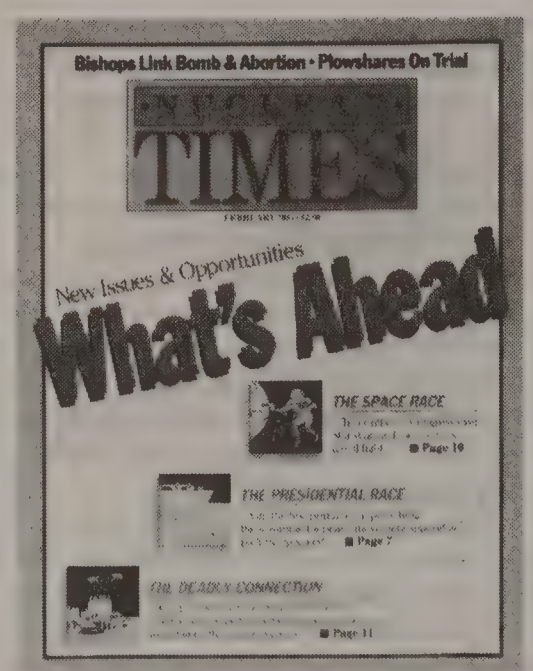
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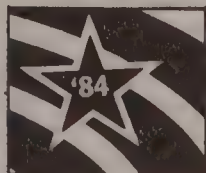
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Mondale charts new waters

Talking Straight To Movement?



Recognizing the importance of the nuclear war issue in 1984, several presidential candidates have expressed interest in sitting down and talking with representatives of leading national peace organizations. And the first to have done so is Walter Mondale, who recently met with members of 28 freeze and arms control groups in Washington, D.C.

Few of the organizations represented at the meeting are able—or inclined—to endorse candidates. But all of the Democratic candidates, and President Reagan, were invited by the Peace Roundtable, an informal collection of leading activists, to meet with movement representatives in Washington, D.C. It was surprising to many that the first to answer the call was not one of the long-shot challengers but front-runner Walter Mondale.

Other Democrats expressed interest in meeting with the Roundtable, but as of late-February had not yet arranged dates. The Roundtable was also waiting to hear from President Reagan. (NUCLEAR TIMES, which does not support any candidate, will report on those meetings if they take place.)

At the January 23 meeting, Mondale, in an apparent attempt to court the peace movement, charted new waters. According to a transcript of the meeting, the former vice president noted that he has been “exploring the possibilities for unilateral steps or moratoria” for arms control. He proposed halting underground testing (for a six-month period), the testing of antisatellite (ASAT) weapons, and the deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles. These measures would challenge the Soviets to follow the U.S. example and provide the first step toward negotiated agreements. Mondale also pledged to move all battlefield nuclear weapons from the frontlines, and maintained he is “looking . . . to see how a testing and deployment moratorium might be done.”

But Mondale balked at the suggestion that he combine his proposals into a formal package or a “very specific freeze moratorium pledge” that could be put forward within the first 100 days of his administration. One of the movement leaders at the meeting observed that such a pledge would “mobilize our constituencies” and assure arms control supporters of Mondale’s intentions. “Some-

thing along that line makes sense to me,” Mondale responded. “I’m not going to sign up on it today because I’ve got to figure how best to make this case.” Mondale requested “advice and counsel” from those attending the meeting regarding a freeze moratorium package, and after the meeting, movement activists met to consider follow-up measures.



Mondale meeting freeze activist Arnie Alpert in New Hampshire

During the meeting, Mondale reiterated his support for the freeze, pledging that he would try to start freeze negotiations “just as quickly as possible.” Responding to a question concerning his advisers, who are not generally known as strong freeze advocates, Mondale pledged that his chief arms negotiator would have to be committed to the freeze. Mondale also expressed opposition to the MX missile and B-1 bomber, endorsed economic conversion in cases where the cancellation of weapon programs would threaten the loss of jobs, and repeated his call for annual U.S.-Soviet summits. He said that he would postpone deployment of the Pershing 2 missiles, but would continue to deploy ground-launched cruise missiles, pending an agreement with the Soviets. Mondale maintained his support for the Midgetman missile, the Stealth bomber and the Trident II (D-5) missile (adding that his support for the D-5 was subordinate to his commitment to the freeze).

According to several activists at the meeting, Mondale was favorably received. “It went very well for Mondale,” one attendee says. Another observes, “People went into the meeting saying Mondale would have to say a lot to convince them. He did convince many of

them. It was more than just campaign rhetoric. He wanted to show us that he understands what the freeze means and that it’s not just arms control as usual.” (Several weeks later, five of the attendees endorsed Mondale.) But to truly gain the confidence of freeze activists, one organizer notes, Mondale has to “say this to all audiences.”

Mondale took a step in this direction on February 19 when he made his new arms control proposals public and came out for a halt to the testing and deployment of some ballistic missile systems. Some activists saw this as a move toward accepting the “quick freeze.”

But Mondale’s political reputation is based on his ability to speak to a variety of constituencies. In a policy paper drafted at the request of the Arms Control Association, Mondale did not contradict positions he took during the meeting with peace activists, but he did emphasize different aspects of his nuclear policies. For example, in the paper (recently published in the ACA newsletter) he mentions the freeze in only one sentence. He restates his opposition to the MX, but notes that he was “prepared to endorse it” when plans called for its deployment in multiple protective shelters. And in “recognition of the essential role of a strong nuclear and conventional defense” he calls for a defense budget “growing at a steady, sustainable rate.” (He had told the peace activists that he was not “wedded” to any increases. “I don’t know if I need to add money,” Mondale said.)

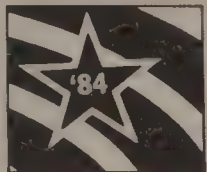
While reaching out to the antinuclear community Mondale is trying not to alienate the centrist bloc of his party. Though he received high marks from many of the activists who met with him, some continue to be skeptical. In 1980 pundits noted that there was a struggle for Reagan’s mind. In 1984 the battle may be for Mondale’s soul. —D.C.

In Search Of The Right Themes

A new project named Peace Media has commissioned a poll to determine which of the various nuclear war and peace-related themes most arouse public sentiment. Once the best slogans, rallying cries and messages are identified, Peace Media (which includes on its board representatives of SANE, the Freeze Campaign, the Council for a Livable World, the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, and the funding community) will make its findings available for educational campaigns.

Peace groups highlight arms issues

Primary Lessons For Activists



The critical early primary races, with massive media coverage and a large field of accessible, eager-to-please candidates, provided arms control groups with an ideal arena for a public airing of nuclear issues.

The results of these caucuses and primaries are now history, but the lessons learned there may be useful to activists in states that are preparing for their own primary contests and for the entire peace movement as it moves toward November.

Most observers agree that the movement has taken advantage of the situation—differences of opinion arise only over degree. Steve Buttry, an editor with the *Des Moines Register*, observes that while peace groups “have been making news, they haven’t been dominating it.” But Fred Martin with the Iowa Mondale campaign says that “groups like the Freeze and Ground Zero have been extremely active in raising the prominence of the nuclear issue—they’ve been out there getting to the people.”

And whenever possible, to the candidates. One of Freeze Voter '84's more successful strategies is the old technique of “bird-dogging.” When Ernest Hollings exclaimed during a nationally televised debate that he was “tired” of being asked about the freeze all the time, freeze organizers were delighted. “That just shows we did our job,” says Kurt Ehrenberg, the group’s coordinator in New Hampshire. “We got to as many public appearances as humanly possible and got them to say the same answers over and over again. It does them good.”

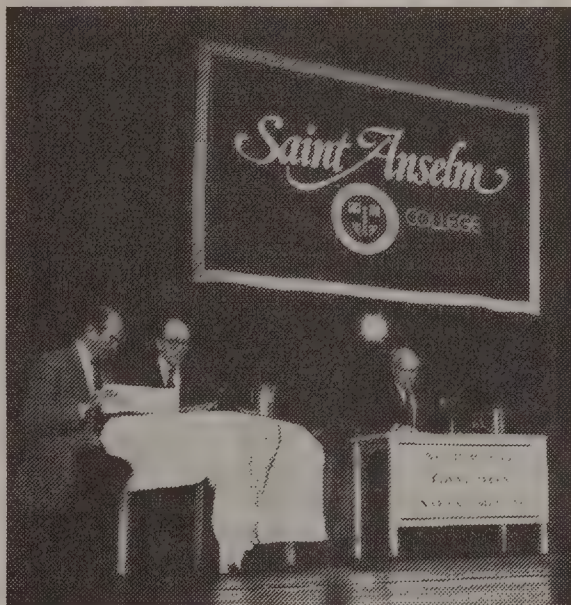
Groups have found that bird-dogging works well across state lines, too; Walter Mondale quickly turned in a long-overdue arms control questionnaire to the Iowa Freeze Campaign after being quizzed about it in New Hampshire. The freeze and other arms issues are probably “the most consistently broached subjects at any public event,” says Tim Zimmermann with the Hart campaign.

While support for the freeze has been a focal point of the candidates’ advertising, (except Reubin Askew’s, the lone anti-freezer), antinuclear activists in Iowa and New Hampshire tried to press candidates on freeze specifics. “It’s apparent that when candidates say they support the freeze, they mean very different

things,” observes Randall Forsberg.

So, as a litmus test to better define gradations of commitment to the freeze, groups began asking candidates if, upon taking office, they would initiate a “quick freeze”—a unilateral halt to the testing and deployment of nuclear weapons (contingent on Soviet reciprocity). In a related campaign, Stop the Arms Race Political Action Committee, (STAR*-PAC) circulated a pledge to all the candidates for a unilateral test ban initiative. Both initiatives are receiving increasing attention by the press and public.

Media events provided opportunities not only to grill the candidates, but to bring arms control issues to the public as well. “Glenn was on a radio show, and a bunch of us called in to ask him about the quick freeze and other military policies,” says freeze organizer Arnie Alpert in New Hampshire. “Half the calls were



Hollings at forum in New Hampshire

about arms issues. That’s bound to make an impact.”

STAR*-PAC organizer Bob Brammer points out, however, that while it is important to ask the candidates questions, groups should begin to demand pledges from them—preferably in writing.

The New Hampshire Committee on National Security was formed specifically to raise arms control issues during the primary season. Each one of their single-candidate forums—featuring every Democrat except Jesse Jackson—was open to the public, broadcast over cable television and public radio, and widely covered in the press—particularly by political columnists—across

the country. While Michael Birkner with the *Concord Monitor* notes that the candidates “did not say anything at the forums that they didn’t say in other places,” it is clear that the forums did add to the public discussion of arms control in New Hampshire. The success of the project, according to Scott Kirby, the Committee’s coordinator, rested largely on the 25 prominent community members on its board of directors. “The fact that we are nonpartisan also helped,” Kirby adds. “The candidates trusted us.”

In Iowa, the major primary initiative was coordinated by the Freeze Campaign and a coalition of peace groups, which worked to get two freeze activists—one Democrat, one Republican—at each of the state’s 2495 caucuses on February 20. Tim Button of the Iowa Freeze Campaign reports that freeze activists attended about 75 percent of the Democratic caucuses and around 20 percent of the Republican meetings. Practically every Democratic precinct that addressed the freeze, Button says, passed “classic freeze statements” that were offered from the floor by activists. Of the Republican precincts that took up the bilateral freeze—a packet from the state party had directed Republicans to discuss only a *unilateral* freeze—about 75 percent approved the freeze. “We demonstrated that we can mobilize people,” Button notes, “and were able to expand our statewide network many fold. We will now use it for electoral work in the coming months.”

During the primaries Ground Zero has been involved with the larger issue of U.S.—Soviet relations. In New Hampshire the group sponsored a radio campaign (“Next time you see a candidate for president, ask him what he will do to change our relations with the Soviet Union to make this a safer world . . .”), which cost several thousand dollars. And in Iowa, after people in 15 cities played Ground Zero’s Firebreaks game, they were linked by telenet in a statewide meeting on “National Security in the Nuclear Age.” (Candidates Cranston, McGovern and Hart took part in the February 10 event.) After the Iowa caucuses the group shifted its focus to Alabama, Arkansas, Kentucky, Florida, and Georgia.

These broadly educational events can prove vital, but Tim Button warns against peace groups becoming too partisan. “In many counties, we had one caucus coordinator who worked more with the Democrats—and we’d get Republicans calling us and asking where we were. We all have to remember that this issue is not restricted to certain political parties.”

—Renata Rizzo

On The Trail

California Dems Build Peace Platform

■Peace activists and Democratic leaders in California are saying that the state party platform, adopted in early February, will strongly influence the debate at the Democrats' national convention in San Francisco this summer. The state platform calls for an immediate halt to production of the MX, Pershing 2 and cruise missiles and the B-1 bomber (which is made in California), a ban on space weapons, a "quick freeze," adoption of a no-first-use policy and reduced military spending, among other planks. "This is the strongest platform ever adopted within the Democratic party on peace and environmental issues," says Patrick O'Heffernan, director of Ground Zero's West Coast office.

This is significant because California, one of the few states that drafts its own platform, will send the largest number of delegates to the national convention. The platform committee held hearings throughout the state; and when they ended, the more than 1000 delegates to the state convention in Oakland ratified several proposals made by the Peace and Environmental Convention Coalition, which represents more than 80 organizations in the state. Many activists were surprised that so many of their planks passed.

"We negotiated with the Democratic platform committee," says Amy Kelly, Coalition coordinator. "We went to all the hearings. They got to know and respect us." Looking to the national convention, Kelly predicts that the California platform will carry "a lot of weight" because a number of the state Democratic leaders "who cooperated with us are on the national platform committee."

—David Newdorf

Activists Target Delegates

■By the time their national conventions roll around, the Democratic Party will have selected 3931 delegates, and the Republicans, 2235 delegates. For the Freeze Campaign and Citizens Against Nuclear War (CAN), each delegate is a target. As each delegate is chosen—through primaries, caucuses and local and state nominating conventions—CAN and the Freeze Campaign will send him or her educational materials pertaining to the freeze and a survey designed to record positions on arms control issues. Delegates might also be asked to sign some form of freeze pledge.

All of the information collected from the delegates will be computerized and made available to candidates, delegates and the disarmament community. But what CAN and

the Freeze Campaign will try to do is identify state delegation whips who will work on arms control issues at both conventions and perhaps form "freeze caucuses" at each. "We want to make sure the freeze is visible and focus on the platforms at both conventions," says Ben Senturia, political education director of the Freeze Campaign. Karen Mulhauser, executive director of CAN, notes that a freeze caucus at the Democratic convention could press for a strong commitment for implementation of the freeze. At the Republican gathering, she adds, a freeze caucus might circulate freeze petitions and advocate a freeze plank in the party platform.

Movement Links Up With Registration Drives

■Come Election Day, some political analysts are predicting, more than 100 million Americans may go to the polls—an increase of more than 14 million over the 1980 turnout. If these forecasts come true, part of the credit will be due to voter registration drives underway across the country. Organizations such as Project Vote and the Human Service Employees Registration Voting and Education Campaign (Human SERVE) have begun major efforts aimed at, for the most part, low-income individuals, minorities, young people and women. And various antinuclear groups are hooking up with these nonpartisan registration campaigns.

This month Women's Action for Nuclear

Disarmament and Human SERVE, which is registering voters through public and private social service agencies, are kicking off a Women Vote for Survival '84 campaign, a nationwide drive targeting low-income and minority women. "They're a natural constituency for the peace movement," says Cindy Williams of Human SERVE. WAND has committed itself to providing volunteers.

Project Vote, which stresses registering the poor and minorities, participated in a coalition effort in the 19th congressional district of Illinois (home of Representative Dan Crane) that registered 2000 voters. In its drive, this coalition of local progressive groups highlighted the importance of the freeze. "We're looking for every opportunity possible to tie up with local peace groups," notes Al Rabe, deputy director of Project Vote. And the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign has been "matchmaking," informing local freeze groups of registration drives in their areas and encouraging participation.

Last month, at the conference that launched the National Student Campaign for Voter Registration, many of the speakers who addressed the 1600 students in attendance raised the issue of arms control. Those speaking at the event, held on the campus of Harvard University, included freeze author Randall Forsberg, Bella Abzug, Ralph Nader and the Reverend Jesse Jackson. "My sense of the meeting," says Beth DeGrasse of the National Student Campaign, "is that the nuclear arms race issue was the overwhelming concern of those attending." □

Campaign Resources

People interested in getting involved in nonpartisan voter registration and electoral training projects may write or call a number of organizations. The **National Student Campaign for Voter Registration** (37 Temple Place, Boston, MA 02111, 617-357-9016) is sponsoring state and regional conferences on voter registration in April, issuing a 30-page *Guide on Voter Registration* (no price yet), and producing four video training tapes on registration techniques (\$25 a set). **Ground Zero** (806 15th Street NW, Suite 421, Washington, DC 20005, 202-638-7402) offers a condensed version of their book *Hope: Facing the Music on Nuclear War and the 1984 Elections*.

The **League of Women Voters** (1730 M Street NW, Washington, DC 20036, 202-429-1965) prints three nonpartisan booklets: *Choosing a President* (100 pages, \$1.95), a step-by-step description of the process of nominating and electing the president; *Pick a Candidate* (eight pages, 10 for \$1), and *Who Will Elect the President?* (two pages, 20¢). **SANE** (711 G Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202-546-7100) is conducting an electoral training conference in Washington, DC, March 17-18, and it plans to print a brochure to accompany the conference.

The **Forum Institute** (1225 15th Street NW, Washington, DC 20005, 202-347-2931) is distributing the *Arms Control Electoral Information Report* (\$20). Several hundred pages long, this resource book, compiled by several consultants, presents information on delegate selection state-by-state; advice on campaign finance laws and appropriate political activities of tax-exempt groups; guidelines for working with the media; analyses of opinion polls; and a list of key party officials in each state. The **Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy** (120 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002, 202-546-8400) has a pamphlet (eight pages, 50¢/35¢ for orders over 100 copies), issued in conjunction with **Network**, called *Faith in Action: Getting Involved in Election '84*. **Peace Links** (723½ 8th Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202-544-0805) assists local groups in setting up women's forums (nominal fee) on incorporating peace issues into an election.

Other groups involved in nonpartisan voter registration and electoral training include (among others) the **American Association of University Women** (2401 Virginia Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20037, 202-785-7700), the **Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign** (4144 Lindell Boulevard, Suite 404, St. Louis MO 63108, 314-533-1169), **Friends of the Earth** (530 7th Street SE, Washington, DC 20003, 202-543-4312), **WAND** (PO Box 153, New Town Branch, Boston, MA 02258, 617-643-6740), the **Citizen Leadership Foundation** (600 W. Fullerton Avenue, Chicago IL 60614, 312-975-3890), **Project Vote** (1200 15th Street NW Suite 201, Washington, DC 20005, 202-293-3933), **Human SERVE** (PO Box 102, 2901 Broadway, New York, NY 10027, 212-280-4053), the **Southwest Voter Registration Education Project** (201 North St. Mary's Street, Suite 501, San Antonio, TX 78205, 512-222-0224), and **Midwest Voter Registration Education Project** (51 North High Street, Suite 300, Columbus, OH 43215, 614-464-1116). We'll look at more groups next month.

Ideas That Work



In recent months, the American public has gotten a glimpse of some remarkable Pentagon shopping bills: \$7417 for a 2.4¢ steel pin; \$1075 for a bolt worth 67¢; a 12-cent allen wrench for \$9,606. To Delaware's conservative Senator William Roth, such flagrant abuse of funds was hardly news: as chairman of the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee he has run several hearings on spare parts overcharging.

But in December, Senator Roth decided to mount a visual protest—a "Pentagon Christmas Tree" with all the trimmings: \$100,000 worth of spare parts (at



Senator Roth trims Pentagon tree

Pentagon prices), which could be bought at any local hardware store for a total of about \$100. The tree presided over the Governmental Affairs Committee Room for three weeks, attracting attention from senators (many of whom requested information packets on its unusual glitter) and the media alike.

The Christmas tree idea can be adapted to other seasons (such as a \$50,000 Easter basket). For a list of overpriced military parts easily obtained in hardware stores, contact Senator Roth's office or the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, 120 Maryland Avenue, Washington, DC 20002.

The metronome beats every two seconds, punctuating the speaker's equations: "With every beat, one child in the world dies from a preventable disease. With every beat, \$50,000 is spent on the arms race. Every 12 beats, one American falls into poverty. Every 12

beats, the United States spends \$60,000 on nuclear weapons."

These disturbing statistics were reeled off during a 20-minute speech—accompanied by 600 beats—at the recent Physicians for Social Responsibility (PSR) National Conference in Washington, D.C., by Dr. Victor Sidel, who in 1961 helped found the group. "It just occurred to me that using a metronome would be a graphic way of framing the contrasts between what is spent on health care and what is spent on weapons," Sidel, who is now on PSR's board of directors, says.

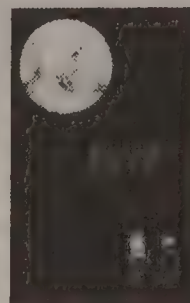
PSR member Karen Weinberg, who attended the conference, reports that "using such a benign object—something usually associated with piano lessons—to illustrate those very upsetting facts was a jolting contrast. It was more powerful than gruesome slides. And the sound of it was relentless." Metronomes can be bought at most music stores starting at about \$15. One good source for statistics is an article by Dr. Sidel in the Spring 1983 issue of *Health and Medicine* ("Destruction Before Detonation: The Health and Social Costs of the Weapons Race").

Last fall 280,000 San Franciscans received a controversial 16-page booklet provided by the City and County of San Francisco (with an introductory letter from Mayor Dianne Feinstein), which vividly describes what would happen to familiar areas of the city—and the people in it—if a one-megaton nuclear bomb exploded at the San Francisco City Hall. The booklet, called "The Nuclear Threat to San Francisco," resulted from a nearly two-year effort by San Franciscans for Nuclear Education, a group inspired by a similar citizens campaign in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1981.

Although a resolution calling for the adoption and funding of the booklet by the city's Board of Supervisors passed overwhelmingly, opponents of the project managed to delay its publication for months, creating a good deal of media attention in the process.

Once the pamphlet was mailed, however, it met with extremely favorable reactions from both the public and the press. San Franciscans for Nuclear Education have opened a clearinghouse to provide advice for other groups who would like to involve their cities in similar projects. For a copy of the booklet (available in Spanish, Chinese and English) write to the group at PO Box 14407, San Francisco, CA 94114. □

Thanks to Leila Mustachi for tipping us off to the metronome demonstration and to Mark M. Sharron for providing the San Francisco item. —Renata Rizzo



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Helen Caldicott

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HERBERT SCOVILLE

Inside View On The Arms Race

For over two decades, Herbert "Pete" Scoville Jr. was an insider. He worked for the Atomic Energy Commission, the Armed Forces Special Weapons Project, the Central Intelligence Agency and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Much of this time he spent studying the effects of nuclear blasts. He was at the Bikini Atoll in 1954 when an error in weather predictions caused fallout from a hydrogen bomb test to drift over the islands, endangering their inhabitants and members of the U.S. task force. Shortly thereafter, Scoville was advocating a nuclear test ban—within the Pentagon.

When he left government service in 1969 he helped create the Arms Control Association, a nonpartisan educational organization based in Washington, D.C. In recent years, Scoville, president of the ACA, has played a crucial role in the MX opposition, lending his expertise and credentials (via speaking engagements and writings) to the cause. Among many Washington, D.C.-based activists he is warmly regarded for his willingness to work with movement groups.

The following interview was conducted by David Corn, senior editor of NUCLEAR TIMES.

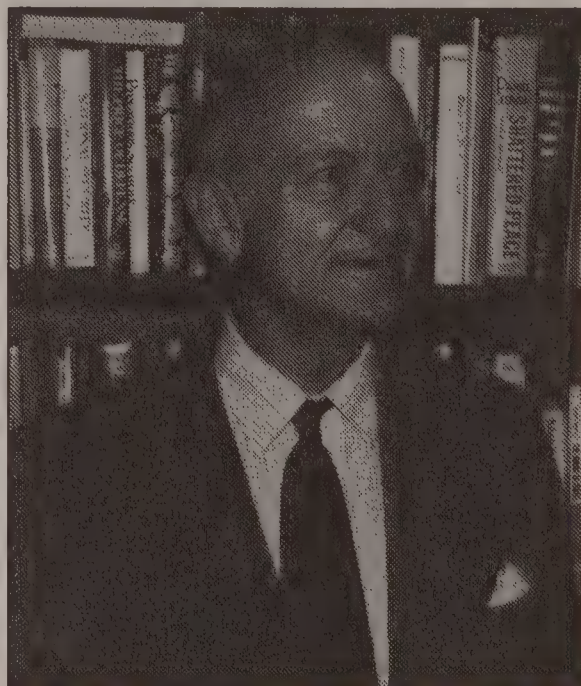
How do you see the coming round on the MX? Will it continue to survive?

The fight will go on, but we won't stop it this year. There are going to be some obvious problems with the system. The costs are high (and will be higher than expected) and the payoff is low. Those who changed their vote on the MX last year simply sold out.

But the MX could collapse under its own weight. Some minds could be changed, but not those of the leaders of the compromise—they got so far out in front on this. But Congress will find that the MX will cost more and more for less and less. Weapon system costs always go up. But will cost go up in big enough increases to change minds? I don't want to be optimistic. But let's not be pessimistic.

The administration is upset that the Soviets left the arms talks. The excuse for the MX as a bargaining chip is made patently unviable. Still it's very hard for members of Congress to challenge a president who says he is bargaining seriously in secret. They don't want to get

caught in the position that if nothing happens in Geneva the president can say it's their fault because they deprived him of a bargaining chip. It's hard to envision Congress denying the president a weapon system. If it happens, it happens because of the cost. But if there is a



Scoville: "CIA background helps me"

change in administrations, I think this could be one of the first things to be cut.

What drives the effort to build such a weapon system? From your point of view, it certainly isn't military rationality.

There's no question that political pressure drives these things along. For example, I know for a fact that Harold Brown, when he first became [Carter's] secretary of defense, and before that, was strongly opposed to missiles like the MX—countersilo missiles that threaten Soviet ICBMs, the bulk of the Soviets' deterrent. But by the end of his four years, he was (and still is) a strong advocate of the MX system. The political pressures forced him to change his mind.

It's a sorry state of affairs. Political pressure arising from the notion that the-Soviets-have-something-so-we-have-to-have-it-too are very strong in this country. All you have to do is wave the red flag. That type of political pressure pushed the Carter administration. It did stop the B-1, but in retrospect it was a mistake to make the B-1 an issue. The B-1, say what you want, is not a dangerous weapon—it's just a terrible waste of money. But it isn't a first-strike weapon. It doesn't make nuclear war more

likely. But having stopped the B-1, Carter and Brown were always vulnerable to being attacked for halting a weapon program. This made it much harder to stop the MX.

Are there other weapons being developed that particularly concern you?

The Trident II missile is another one I don't like, basically because it's designed to threaten deterrence. Maybe you don't like deterrence psychologically, it's not what you like to live under, but it's the only thing we got these days. Therefore, one wants to shore it up. The Trident II specifically threatens deterrence. Reagan makes no bones about it. This administration has a fixation on threatening the Soviet deterrent.

What role in the movement do you see for the Arms Control Association?

We started as a small organization, and we're still a small organization. But we've had some impact. Recently, Paul Warnke, Gerard Smith, myself, and two others held a very successful press conference challenging administration claims that the Soviets were violating several arms control treaties. We got a good amount of coverage. It was a very useful campaign. We don't lobby. But we do testify on Capitol Hill when asked by a member of Congress. We don't always testify in favor of an arms control agreement—we testified against the Threshold Test Ban Treaty. We didn't think it was a very good agreement. The threshold was set so high, it provided a cover to go on testing ad infinitum. It provided an excuse to avoid the real thing, a comprehensive test ban.

It seems often that there is a gap between what might be termed establishment-oriented arms control organizations and groups that have a more activist and grassroots bent. How much interaction is there between the two?

I think there is more perhaps than meets the eye. For example, the Arms Control Association, because it is tax-exempt and associated with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (which has very stringent rules on lobbying), rarely takes a position. We have a mixed board of extremists and conservatives. We do stick very close to the public education side of the picture.

I personally believe that is an important function, but by no means the only function. If we are going to turn this

whole thing around, it is very important that the people express themselves and exert pressure on their elected representatives and leaders. Unless you have that kind of pressure—and it must be informed, so the education is part of the process—there isn't a chance in the world.

Does your CIA background ever lead to any tensions when working with movement activists?

Occasionally. Everybody is sort of amazed: How can you, who have been in the CIA, be in favor of arms control? The CIA in the past has actually been a positive force in favor of arms control—I can't say for today. The CIA is not *supposed* to take sides. It's supposed to provide information. Without that information—for instance by working to declassify verification techniques—there couldn't have been a partial test ban treaty.

So the CIA has played an important role in supporting arms control. Actually, my CIA background helps me, it establishes "hawk" credentials, which make one more credible with middle-of-the-road and conservative audiences. Those are the people you want to convince.

Can you give another example of when the CIA played a supportive role for arms control?

When the ABM [Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty] debate was going on prior to the signing of SALT I, the CIA was much more reasonable about Soviet capabilities in ABMs than others. Some people, particularly in the Air Force, were saying that the Soviets already had an ABM system, and the CIA fought them on this.

Can the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) be turned into a productive agency, one able to help us get out of the present hole?

I think we could get it back. But every time you go through one of these cycles, it becomes increasingly difficult to get back on the tracks. All of the good people have been gotten rid of. And you can hire and fire people only so many times. Most of the people who really believe in arms control have either been fired or relegated to non-important jobs. Of course, it should be continued, and it would be a great mistake if ACDA were made part of the State Department, as some have suggested. We wouldn't have had the Non-Proliferation Treaty or the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty without ACDA.

What arms control proposals—old or new—do you find exciting?

I basically think that the important job of arms control is to reduce the chances that nuclear weapons are used. You do everything you can to create disincen-

tives to their use—that should be looked at as the *raison d'être* of arms control.

When I get back on the lecture circuit again I intend to propose that just reductions, *per se*, are not the answer to arms control. Reductions, in fact, can make the situation more dangerous, unless you also prescribe what weapons are allowed to be kept and what kind of modernization is allowed to be carried out. That's the important goal of arms control. For instance, if you cut the stockpiles in half, if the half that remains still contains MX and Pershing 2 missiles and the Soviets' SS-18s and SS-20s, I don't think you have accomplished anything.

I believe that the freeze is a very sound, overall concept. I don't believe that you can freeze everything overnight. But the freeze concept does not require you to stop everything overnight. What you ought to do is give highest priority to those types of weapons that provide incentives for their use and then get rid of those weapons.

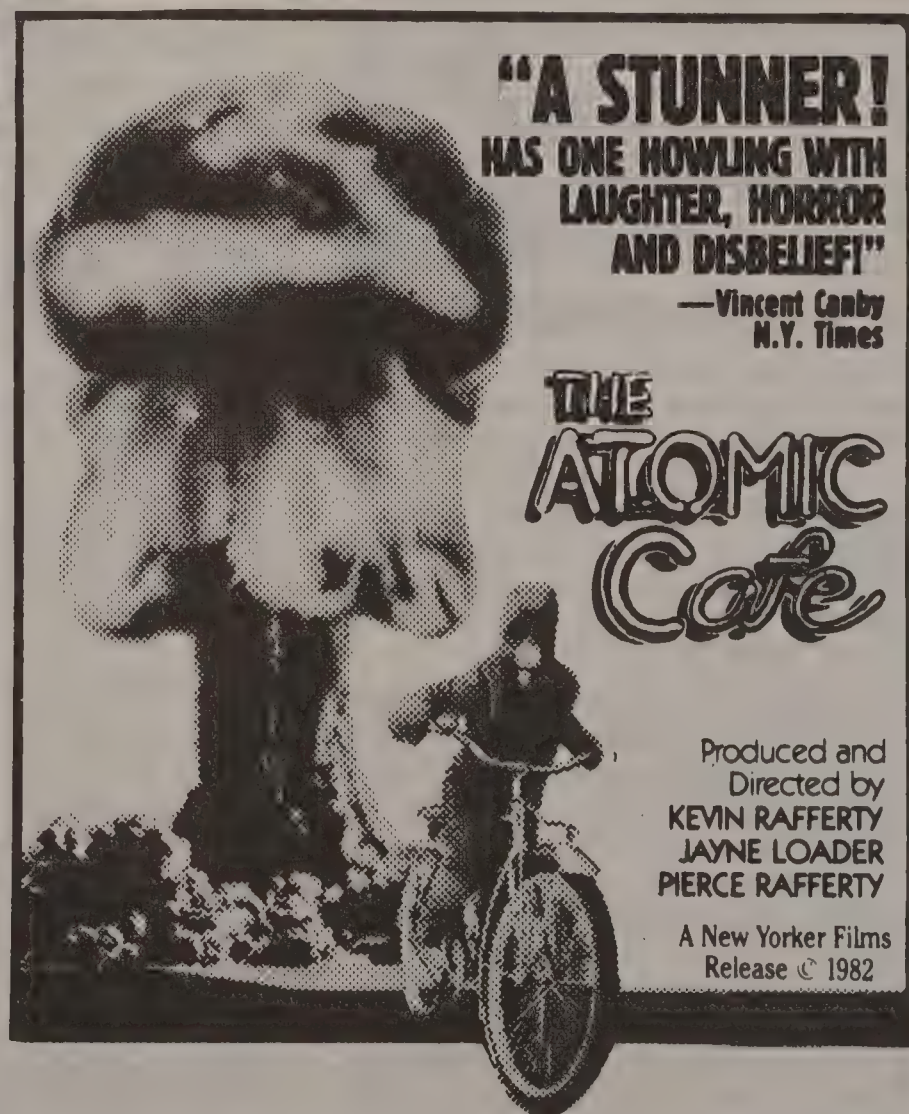
Is there any chance that the decisions made inside the Pentagon, and within any administration can be affected by outside arguments, such as the "nuclear winter" concept developed by Carl Sagan and others?

I doubt it. But I think that what it can do is affect the public's understanding of the issue and give impetus to the public



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to try to stop this insanity of adding more thousands of weapons to the thousands we already have. It's surprising that this dimension that Sagan and his colleagues have pointed out has never been taken seriously before. I must say that when I was in charge of studying the effects of nuclear explosions, we never even thought about it. But in those days, there weren't as many nuclear weapons. We concentrated on the direct effects.

It's very useful to point out this new dimension. But you have to be careful (and Sagan almost falls into the trap himself) of not making a small nuclear war look acceptable. Even a 100 megaton war that didn't attack cities—supposedly this might be lower than the nuclear winter threshold—would still be an unparalleled disaster. Just because it doesn't produce these climatic effects doesn't make it any more acceptable.

What do you think of the idea, now supported by the Freeze Campaign, of a flight-test ban, initiated by the United States and contingent upon Soviet restraint?

A flight-test ban would be a very effective way of halting the arms race. You cannot develop new weapons and get the kind of accuracy needed for countersilo capabilities without testing. The big problem is that the Pentagon argues that

as long as you have weapons you have to test them to make sure they still work. That might be handled by allowing small numbers of tests, and no tests of new models. The concept is a good one because it gets to the problem of modernization. That would be part of the freeze.

You have witnessed the development of the arms race from inside and outside the government for several decades. What advice would you give the antinuclear weapons movement now?

The first thing I would say is do not become discouraged. Everything may not be going along as well as anticipated, but it is a long haul. You have to keep pushing. The only way it will be accomplished will be with the people. They are the essence. It is not the experts. This is an issue that everyone has a big stake in. You don't have to be a technical expert.

In fact, you shouldn't rely on technical experts. Many people know more on this subject than the president—which is obvious when one hears his statements. The movement has to keep on with its work, keep on expanding and use every political trick imaginable—it should apply all the political pressure it can to force the politicians to act.

The most optimistic thing I've seen is a real transformation of public attitudes.

Within the last five years, I've done a lot of talking to various groups all over the country. And the change in attitude and interest is not just among those already on our side, but on the part of middle-of-the-road and conservative individuals, whom you might not expect to be supportive of arms control. They have come to realize just how critical this issue is. That's the basis for real optimism.

But some people still look at the military-industrial complex and the way decisions are made by Congress and the executive branch, and see institutional pressures and interests all aligned firmly on the side of the arms race and seemingly immovable . . .

Well, you can say that because we really haven't had any concrete successes. I don't mean to be totally hopeless. The ABM Treaty and the Non-Proliferation Treaty were successes. However, we have not succeeded in stopping weapon programs. But we are closer. In 1982, I believe, there was a major turnaround in political attitudes. It was interesting that during the first televised debate held in New Hampshire between the Democratic candidates, arms control was emphasized by each. It is very likely to be the major campaign issue in the coming year, and, boy, that's quite something. □

COMMUNITY BULLETIN BOARD

EMPLOYMENT

Executive Director sought by public interest legal organization dealing with nuclear weapons policies to perform innovative program development, fundraising, publicity, general administration. Attorney preferred, but not required. Salary, \$20,000 to start. Send resume to: *Lawyers Committee on Nuclear Policy, 225 Lafayette St., NY, NY 10012.*

Regional coordinator for the South Carolina Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. Involves local organizing, fundraising; public education and overseeing political action for the upcoming year in the Charleston, SC area and coastal regions. Prior experience in community organizing and fundraising helpful, knowledge of the freeze and nuclear disarmament issues essential. Salary for 4 to 6 months available immediately. Contact: *The SCNWFC, P.O. Box 362, Charleston, SC, 29402; or call 803-886-4538 or 723-9720.*

EMPLOYMENT

JOB-PEACEWORK: Churches, Black community; fundraising; inquire *Peace Center, 14 N. Laurel, Richmond, VA 23220; 804/358-1958.*

ARTS

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ASSOCIATIONS

Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

MUSICAL

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TOURS

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CONFERENCE

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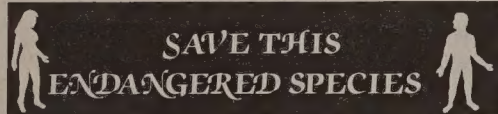
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Mail to: Community Bulletin Board, Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, Room 512, New York, NY 10001.

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

CENTRAL AMERICA WEEK

Activities scheduled from March 18-24. *Contact:* Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America, Rm 633, 475 Riverside Dr, New York, NY 10015 (212) 879-2511.

LENTEN DESERT EXPERIENCE

The annual vigil and witness at the Nevada Test Site, April 1-30, will involve participants from across the country who want to take a public stand against the nuclear arms race and the testing of nuclear weapons. For more information, *contact:* Lenten Desert Experience Coordinating Committee, 1500 34 Av, Oakland, CA 94601 (415) 536-3772.

TAXING BUSINESS

The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee has compiled a list of local groups across the country that are organizing tax resistance workshops and/or counseling. To get in touch with the expert nearest you, *contact:* Kathy Levine, The National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee, PO Box 2236, East Patchogue, NY 11772 (516) 654-8227.

"WHITE TRAIN" SPEAKING TOUR

The Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), is sponsoring a speaking tour with Nora Hallett, Shelley Douglass and Rev Tim McDonald on the "White Train" that carries nuclear warheads from Amarillo, Texas, to the Charleston, South Carolina, Naval Weapons Station. The speakers will be stopping along points on the train route in southern states from April 4-18. For itinerary and more information, *contact:* Nora Hallett, FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

MARCH 17

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

"Peace is Primary" electoral strategy conference on how to increase the political clout of the peace movement; Ramada Renaissance Hotel, through March 18. *Contact:* April Moore, SANE, 711 G St SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-7100.

MARCH 19

NEBRASKA

• **Statewide** Former Nebraska Governor Frank Morrison will be touring the state speaking in support of the Freeze/No MX initiative presently circulating in Nebraska, through March 23. For an itinerary, *contact:* Brian Coyne, Nebraska Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, PO Box 95052, Lincoln, NE 68509 (402) 475-HALT.

MARCH 22

NEW YORK

• **New York** *Creature from the Blue Zaloom*, an evening of one-man shows with comedian Paul Zaloom; Inroads Multi-Media Arts Center, 150 Mercer St, through April 9. For reservations, *contact:* (212) 226-6622.

MARCH 24

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Arlington** Annual Conference of Womens Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND), with Randall Forsberg, Dr. Helen Caldicott, and others; Unitarian Universalist Church, 630

Calendar

**A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Submit April and May events by March 19**

Massachusetts Av, through March 25. *Contact:* WAND (617) 643-4880.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Music for Survival concert, featuring Beethoven chamber music; Symphony Space. *Contact:* Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament, 225 Lafayette St, New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-7921.

MARCH 25

MAINE

• **Belfast** Panel discussion on the deployment of Euromissiles, with Prof Richard Eichenberg of Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs and Maurice Eisenstein of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency; St. Margaret's Episcopal Church. *Contact:* Nuclear Issues Education Project, 81 Main St, Orono, ME 04473.



Denise Levertov (see April 11)

MARCH 27

KENTUCKY

• **Louisville** Clergy and Laity Conference, "Apocalypse and Hope: Peacemaking in an Anxious Age," with Alan Geyer, executive director of the Church for Theology and Public Policy, Catherine Meeks, Dean of Women at Mercy University and others; Crescent Hill Baptist Church, through March 28. *Contact:* Tom Walton, Council on Peacemaking and Religion, 3940 Poplar Level Rd, Louisville, KY 40213 (512) 458-0269.

MARCH 28

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** "Economics and Values in the Nuclear Age," with Dave McFadden of the Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project and others; El Camino College. *Contact:* Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

MARCH 29

MINNESOTA

• **Minneapolis** *America—From Hitler to MX*, award-winning feature documentary; Uptown Theater, 2906 Hennepin Av. *Contact:* Parallel Films, 314 W 91 St, New York, NY 10024 (212) 580-3888.

MARCH 30

NEBRASKA

• **Omaha** Conference, "Prayer and Peacemaking," with Sr Theresa Kane and Rev Daniel Berrigan; Ahmanson Law Center at Creighton University, through March 31. *Contact:* New Covenant Justice and Peace Center, 1717 Izard St, Omaha, NE 68102 (402) 345-0539.

MARCH 31

CALIFORNIA

• **Berkeley** Annual Pacifeast, with food, comedy and more; Trinity United Methodist church. *Contact:* War Resisters League-West, 85 Carl St, San Francisco, CA 94117 (415) 731-1220.

NEW YORK

• **New York** Conference on nuclear homeporting in Staten Island; Wagner College. *Contact:* Committee for a Nuclear Free Island (212) 979-6563.

APRIL 1

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** 10-kilometer Run for Peace to benefit the Boston Area Chapter of Educators for Social Responsibility (ESR). *Contact:* ESR, 11 Garden St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 492-8820.

APRIL 5

Teleconference on Space Weapons, with Carl Sagan, Richard Garwin, Henry Kendall and Adm Noel Gaylor (ret); broadcast to sites in Atlanta, Chicago, Denver, Houston, Los Angeles, New York City, St. Louis, San Francisco, Seattle, and Washington, D.C. For local times, locations and registration procedures, *contact:* Kathleen Farhi, Union of Concerned Scientists, 26 Church St, Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 547-5552.

APRIL 6

FREEZE FRIDAY See page 14.

ARKANSAS

• **Little Rock** Statewide conference on an Arkansas agenda for peace and human needs, with speakers, workshops, and more; University Conference Center at the Excelsior Hotel, through April 8. *Contact:* Arkansas Peace Center (501) 372-4892.

WASHINGTON

• **Port Orchard** Retreat, "Power from the Bottom of the Well: Spiritual Resources for Justice and Peace Work," with Jim Douglass and Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen; Pilgrim Firs Camp, through April 8. *Contact:* Ann Marchand (206) 525-1213.

APRIL 7

CALIFORNIA

• **Santa Monica** "Global Awareness Film Festival," featuring *If You Love This Planet, In Our Defense*, an official government civil defense film, and others. Physicians, nurses and physicists will be on hand to answer questions after each film; Santa Monica Place Community Room. *Contact:* Charlene Richards, Nurses for Social Responsibility, 2340 Wilson Av, Venice, CA 90291 (213) 827-1802.

NORTH CAROLINA

• **Greensboro** Statewide Peace Convocation, sponsored by the North Carolina Council of Churches, to discuss how best to improve relations between the United States and the Soviet Union; Greensboro College. *Contact:* Herbie Walters (704) 675-4626.

OREGON

• **Eugene** 8th annual No-Nukes Ball, with The Cashiers and the Community Gospel Choir; Woodsmen of the World Hall. *Contact:* Citizen Action for Lasting Security (503) 343-8548.

TEXAS

• **Austin** Benefit Concert with Pete Seeger; Austin Opry House. *Contact:* Austin Peace and Justice Coalition, 1022 W 6 St, Austin, TX 78703 (512) 263-2586.

APRIL 8

NEW YORK

• **Hempstead** Film, *What About the Russians?* with speakers Prof George Jackson of Hofstra University and Nikita Smidovich of the USSR Mission to the United Nations; Monroe Hall, Hofstra University. *Contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, 502 N Brookside Av, Freeport, NY 11520 (516) 378-3535.

APRIL 9

PENNSYLVANIA

• **Shippensburg** Spring Peace Festival, with John Kenneth Galbraith, Charles Marthinsen, workshops, all-day carnival, and more; through April 14. *Contact:* Steve Sprecher, United Campus Ministry, Shippensburg University, Shippensburg, PA 17257 (717) 532-1672.

APRIL 11

CALIFORNIA

• **Los Angeles** Talk, "The Poet as Prophet in the Nuclear Age," with Denise Levertov, poet, author and visiting professor of English at Stanford University; Loyola-Marymount University, St. Robert's Auditorium. *Contact:* Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

MICHIGAN

• **Detroit** *How Many Minutes to Midnight?*, a musical about nuclear brinkmanship; General Lectures Auditorium, Rm 150, Wayne State University, through April 15. *Contact:* Lillian Genser, Center for Peace and Conflict Studies, 5229 Cass St, Detroit, MI 48202 (313) 577-3453 or (313) 577-3468.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed events.

Resources

HANDBOOKS

Defense Dollars and Sense, by Mark Rovner. A Common Cause Guide to the Defense Budget Process (Common Cause, 2030 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036). Without directly criticizing the current military budget, this new 90-page study maintains it is the defense budgeting process that is out of control. The study proposes a number of changes, including the establishment of an independent congressional office of defense analysis. It also suggests antilobbying laws to limit the influence of military contractors on Capitol Hill. A handy bibliography and appendices on defense budget and congressional committees are included.

Research Guide to Current Military and Strategic Affairs, by William M. Arkin (\$7.95 paper, Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20009, 202-234-9382). An invaluable guide to sources for researchers interested in locating and using government documents (including the Freedom of Information Act), information about the U.S. military (from weapons systems to women in the forces), strategic affairs (weapons and regional issues, country by country), the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Appendices list periodicals and research organizations covering military and strategic subjects.

The Pershing II: A Major Threat to Stability (free with a stamped, self-addressed envelope, to NUCLEAR TIMES readers from the Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011). This November 1983 issue of the CEP newsletter is devoted to the development, costs, and deployment of the Pershing 2.

Defense Sense: The Search for a Rational Military Policy, edited by Patrick O'Hefernan (\$8.95 paper, Ballinger). A collection of essays, with each section introduced by Representative Ronald Dellums. Among the most illuminating authors are Latin American specialist Walter LaFeber on "Foreign Policy Assumptions of the Reagan Military Budget," Franklin Holzman on "Administration Misrepresentation of Soviet Military Spending," and Gordon Adams on the economic effects of the "Iron Triangle"—close relations among congressional appropriations, the Pentagon, and the defense industry.

The European Nuclear Negotiations: Paths to War or Peace? by Alan B. Sherr (\$3 paper, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Inc., 43 Charles Street, Suite 3, Boston, MA 02114,

617-227-0118). This second brief in a series from the Lawyers Alliance surveys the history of nuclear arms deployment and talks in Europe.

FILMS

There's a Nuclear War Going On Inside Me, (26 minutes, color video, \$35 rental, \$100 purchase from Intersection Associates, 56 Chestnut Street, Cambridge, MA, 02139, 617-492-5200). Eric Chivian, M.D., the treasurer of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, (IPPNW) and Roberta Snow, president of Educators for Social Responsibility, talk to Boston-area children, aged 6 to 16, about nuclear war. Even the youngest know about nuclear weapons and their destructiveness from newscasts. A girl of 9 declares that she'll never have a child because both she and the child would die. An 8-year-old boy wants to be an astronaut, "but I think I'm never going to be one." Most upsetting is a teenage boy, wearing his baseball cap backwards, who describes his sadness about the possibility of conceiving an abnormal child, because of radiation poisoning.

What Soviet Children Are Saying About Nuclear War, (21 minutes, color video, \$35



Pioneer campers: Faith in negotiations?

rental, \$100 purchase from Intersection Associates, address above). Doctors from IPPNW and Harvard Medical School interview Soviet children aged 10 to 15 at their pioneer camps. They talk about their fears of nuclear devastation. No child interviewed thinks civil defense

shelters would help him survive. Most of the children want desperately to believe that negotiation can make the difference: "War will never happen because the Soviet Union and America will, will, will come to terms," says a 13-year-old from Riazan. These children's fears about the United States mirror fears about the Soviet Union in this country. An important and disturbing film.

In Our Defense, (26 minutes, color video or 16mm, \$65 rental from Public Media Inc., 119 West 57 Street, New York, NY 10019, 212-247-8050). Beautifully produced by Bill Jersey, this film has ominous Philip Glass-type synthesizer music on the sound track, which reinforces the message that stockpiling nuclear weapons has undermined national security in personal, economic, and military ways. Interviews with defense experts, business and labor leaders, and average citizens. Some classic moments: the Pentagon's T.K. Jones is questioned in Congress about his infamous "enough shovels" assessment of civil defense, Lieutenant General Daniel Graham insists that "if you get behind a lilac bush," you will be sufficiently protected against a nuclear explosion. Just one fact from the film: the Pentagon's projected \$1.6 trillion budget over the next five years will cost each American family \$20,000.

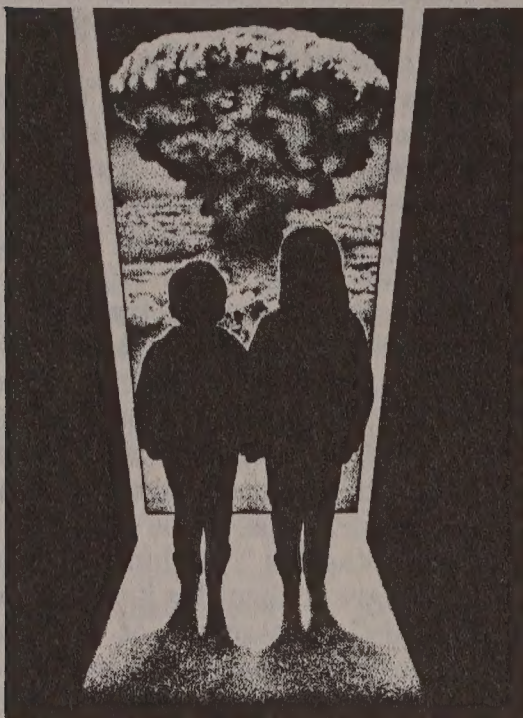
Nuclear Strategy for Beginners, (1 hour, color video, \$85 for three-day rental, \$200 purchase, plus handling and shipping, from Time-Life Video Distribution Center, 100 Eisenhower Drive, Paramus, NJ 07652, 201-843-4545). This excellent history of the evolution and meaning of concepts such as deterrence, mutual assured destruction, and limited nuclear war was recently seen on NOVA, the science series produced by WGBH, Boston's public television station. Of particular interest is the revisionist history of the Cuban Missile Crisis: Often ballyhooed as a showcase for deterrence, it was actually averted by the U.S. show of strength in conventional forces, principally battleships.

SPECIAL MENTION

The Command and Control of Nuclear Forces, by Paul Bracken (\$19.95 hardcover, Yale University Press). This book, which is causing a stir in the arms control community, has been endorsed by three past directors of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, including two with vastly different philosophies, Eugene Rostow and Paul Warnke. The author, who teaches business and political science at Yale, was formerly with the Hudson Institute, a conservative think tank founded by Herman Kahn. Bracken presents a powerful argument against nuclear weapons' military usefulness by describing the superpower nuclear command systems. Their very complexity, in his view, will obviate political direction and control of a nuclear conflict.

Bracken approaches his subject like a systems analyst. The question he asks, is, how should nuclear forces be managed? He probes the "institutionalized conflict systems erected in the nuclear age." Their inadequacies, he suggests, translate into decreased security. According to Bracken, the extremely complex systems are well guarded against the single, isolated failure, but not against multiple malfunctions, which can create a chain of reinforcing false alarms. In war, stepped-up military activity is more likely to lead to multiple failures, and big trouble.

Nuclear & Social Issues Films & Video



Direct Cinema's Exclusive Films & Video**

Eight Minutes To Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
1981 Academy Award Nomination
Best Feature Documentary

This 1981 Academy Award nominated film is a portrait of activist, Dr. Helen Caldicott, the pediatrician and author engaged in the struggle to inform and arouse the public to the medical hazards of the nuclear age.

60 minutes Color 1981

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race

Robert McNamara, Paul Warnke, Dr. Herbert Scoville, Jr. and Dr. Helen Caldicott are among the notable speakers to present detailed information and balanced viewpoints on the nuclear arms race, including excerpts from 5 award winning films on the nuclear disarmament issue.

25 minutes Color 1983

If You Love This Planet



Dr. Helen Caldicott on Nuclear War
Academy Award 1982
Best Documentary Short
National Film Board of Canada

In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.

26 minutes Color 1982

No Place To Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen

Vintage film clips show how America was sold on the idea that nuclear attack is survivable in a fallout shelter. Martin Sheen's narration recreates the nightmares of a child growing up during the cold war.

29 minutes Color 1982

Direct Cinema Home Video*

Direct Cinema's Exclusive Films & Video**

Atomic Cafe

Film clips from newsreels, training films, and TV shows, which related to how Americans perceived "The Bomb" in the 40s & 50s, are combined in a telling and often ironic juxtaposition.

China Syndrome

Jane Fonda, Michael Douglas, and Jack Lemmon star in this fictional story of a Three Mile Island-type nuclear reactor melt down. Director James Bridges probes the issues of a cover-up of the disaster.

Being With John F. Kennedy

A new intimate view of John F. Kennedy traces his progression from young Senator, to winning candidate, through the glories of the New Frontier, to heavily burdened President in crisis, and concludes with the impact of his death.

Coming Home

Academy Award
Best Actress 1979

This rare movie illuminates with magnificent sincerity the suffering of a crippled Vietnam veteran upon his return home. Stars Jane Fonda, Jon Voight, Bruce Dern.

Dr. Strangelove

Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

This classic by Stanley Kubrick presents a humorous and frightening look at the dangers of nuclear war. Starring Sterling Hayden, Peter Sellers, George C. Scott, and Slim Pickens.

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies" recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants and were then dismissed at the war's end.

Fail Safe

After a computer error launches an irreversible nuclear attack on Russia by SAC, the heads of each government struggle to save the world from annihilation. Stars Walter Matthau and Henry Fonda.

Harlan County, USA

This extraordinary documentary chronicles the lengthy struggles by coal miners to win a union contract.

The Trials of Alger Hiss

This account details the espionage and perjury case that catapulted Congressman Richard Nixon to national prominence and sent former State Department Officer Alger Hiss to prison.

On The Beach

In this adaption of Nevil Shute's novel, a group of Australians await the effects of a nuclear war that has destroyed the rest of the world. Stars Gregory Peck, Ava Gardner, and Fred Astaire.

Wasn't That A Time

Pete Seeger, Lee Hays, Ronnie Gilbert and Fred Hellerman, formerly The Weavers, reminisce while preparing for their 1980 reunion at Carnegie Hall. Interviews and music combine for a telling history.

Vietnam Requiem

In this ABC News Special, five Vietnam veterans, all decorated war heroes, now serving prison terms are interviewed. The film relays the horrors of war and the unhappiness felt by these heroes.

*Direct Cinema Home Video Cassettes are available in BETA & VHS for purchase only. Preview and rental copies are not available.

**These films are exclusively available from Direct Cinema Limited for rental, purchase, or preview.

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